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OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX

Archæological Society.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME I.

EDITED BY

CHARLES WELCH, F.S.A.,

Honorary Secretary.

6·7

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PREFACE.

IN presenting the first volume of a new series of the Society's Transactions, the Council desire to offer their cordial thanks to the authors of the several contributions to its pages; and at the same time to express their great regret at the deaths of three of those authors, viz.:—the Rev. Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson, Mr. John Sachs, and Mr. T. W. Shore, all of whom rendered eminent service to the Society. The death of the Rev. James Christie was also a loss to the Society and to London archæology in general.

The present volume covers a longer period of time than that of most of its predecessors, but it is to be remembered that the archæological publications provided by the Society for its members have not appeared only in the Transactions, but have included three separate works since the last volume of the Transactions appeared. These are the History of East Barnet, by the late Rev. F. C. Cass, the facsimile reproduction of Ogilby and Morgan's Map of London, 1677, with introduction and "Key," and two volumes of the London and Middlesex

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Inquisitiones post mortem of the Tudor period, a third being now in progress. The Council trust that the members appreciate in these important works a distinct contribution to the advance of London archæology.

It may also be observed that, as the Society is nearing the Jubilee of its existence, many of its recent meetings have been held at places which, though new to present members, have been previously visited by the Society, and do not therefore afford material for new papers in its Transactions, having been adequately dealt with in earlier volumes.

There is, however, no lack of original work which urgently calls for labourers in the broad field of research which is the domain of this Society; and the Council earnestly invite the members of the Society, especially those belonging to the younger generation of archæologists, to undertake specific enquiries into the many problems of London archæology which still remain open, and to submit to the consideration of the Society the results of their researches.

C. W.

London Institution, E.C.
October, 1905.

The responsibility for the statements and opinions expressed in the following pages rests solely with the writers of the several papers.

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*Oke, Alfred W., Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S., F.L.S., *8, Cumberland-place, Southampton*, and *32, Denmark-villas, Hove, Sussex*.

Oliver, Andrew, Esq., *5, Queen's-gardens, Lancaster-gate*, W., and *Arts Club, 40, Dover-street, Piccadilly*, W.

Palmer, Frederick John Morton, Esq., M.B., *Holford, Thrale-road, Streatham-park*, S.W.

Parker, Henry W., Esq., *20, Bucklersbury*, E.C.

Payne, G. B., Esq., *28, Sidney-road, Beckenham*.

Payne, Herbert, Esq., Chamber of London, *Guildhall*, E.C.

Pearson, Colonel Michael Brown, C.B., V.P., *31, Burnt Ash-road, Lee, Kent*.

Pickering, J. E. L., Esq., Librarian, *The Library, Inner Temple*, E.C.

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Pitman, Walter Hayward, Esq., C.C., *30, Newgate-street*, E.C.

Potter, George, Esq.. *10, Priestwood-mansions, Archway-road, Highgate*, N.

Pound, Right Hon. Sir John, Bart., Lord Mayor, V.P., *India House, 84, Leadenhall-street*, and *Stanmore, 149, Grosvenor-road, Highbury-new-park*, N.

Price, F. G. Hilton, Esq., Dir.S.A., F.G.S., Trustee and V.P., *17, Collingham-gardens, South Kensington*, S.W.

Prideaux, Colonel W. F., C.S.I., *West Cliff-terrace, St. Lawrence-on-Sea, Thanet.*

Probyn, Lieut.-Col. Clifford, J.P., L.C.C., *55, Grosvenor-street*, W.

Pye-Smith, Arthur, Esq., J.P., *6, The Grove, Highgate*, N.

Reform Club, per the Librarian, *104, Pall Mall*, S.W.

*Rice, R. Garraway, Esq., F.S.A., *23, Cyril-mansions, Prince of Wales-road*, S.W., and *Carpenter's-hill, Pulborough, Sussex.*

Rivington, Charles Robert, Esq., F.S.A., *74, Elm-park-gardens, Chelsea*, S.W., and *Castle Bank, Appleby, Westmoreland.*

*Routh, Rev. Cuthbert, M.A., *Hove Rectory, Battle, Sussex.*

Rumboll, Charles Alfred, Esq., *Gloucester-house, 2, Bishopsgate-street Without*, E.C., and *Nutley, Upton-road, Watford.*

Ryley, Thomas, Esq., *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall*, S.W.

St. Paul's Cathedral Library, E.C.

Sargent, Alfred G., Esq., *London Institution, Finsbury-circus*, E.C., and *61, Northwold-road, Stoke Newington-common*, N.

Saunders, Martin Luther, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., *4, Coleman-street*, E.C., and *13, Blessington-road, Lee, Kent.*

Saunders, William, Esq., *25, Jewin-street*, E.C.

Scott, G. C. W., Esq., *35, Lascotts-road, Bowes-park*, N.

Shaw, A. Capel, Esq., Librarian, *Free Public Library, Birmingham.*

Shepherd, W., Esq., *66, Bermondsey New-road*, S.E.

Sich, Alexander, Esq., *Norfolk House, The Mall, Chiswick*, W.

Sills, Francis, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., *Donington-house, Norfolk-street, Strand*, W.C., and *44, Burnt Ash-hill, Lee, Kent.*

Sills, William, Esq., *98, Sloane-street, Chelsea*, S.W.

Simmons, Captain William Charles, Alderman, V.P., *4 & 5, Hill-street, Finsbury*, E.C., and *15, Maresfield-gardens, Hampstead*, N.W.

Sion College Library, Rev. W. H. Milman, M.A., Librarian, *Victoria Embankment*, E.C.

Smith, J. S. Challenor, Esq., F.S.A., *80, Oxford-terrace*, W.

Smithers, Frederick O., Esq., *171, Adelaide-road, South Hampstead*, N.W.

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Sotheran, Henry, Esq., *140, Strand*, W.C.

Steward, Ambrose, Esq., *3, Copthall-court*, E.C., and *12, Sydenham-park*, S.E.

Stewart, Alan, Esq., *7, New-square, Lincoln's-inn*, W.C.

Stock, Daniel, Esq., *Bridge Chambers, 171, Queen Victoria-street*, E.C., and *Cotswold, 36, Streatham-hill*, S.W.

†Stone, Sir J. Benjamin, M.P., *The Grange, Erdington, Birmingham*, and *Carlton Club, Pall Mall*, S.W.

Sturge, Dr. Henry H., *81, Elgin-avenue, Maida-vale*, W.

Terry, John A., Esq., *Guildhall*, E.C., and *Iwerne Cottage, Knoll-road, Bexley*.

Tisley, Alfred, Esq., *St. Dunstan's Vestry, Fleet-street*, E.C.

Todd, Charles J., Esq., C.C., *18, Bread-street-hill*, E.C., and *2, The Terrace, Richmond-hill, Surrey*.

Tolhurst, John, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., *Glenbrook, Beckenham, Kent*.

Torrance, Andrew Mitchell, Esq., L.C.C., *21, Cannon-street*, E.C., and *16, Highbury-quadrant*, N.

Townend, Thomas, Esq., C.C., *Studlands, Hersham, Walton-on-Thames*.

Treacher, William John, Esq., *3a, New London-street*, E.C.

Trist, John, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.I., *3, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate*, E.C.

Tritton, J. H., Esq., J.P., *54, Lombard-street*, E.C.

*Tyssen-Amhurst, Daniel, Esq., D.C.L., *Lincoln's-inn-chambers, 40, Chancery-lane*, W.C., and *59, Priory-road, Kilburn*, N.W.

*Tyssen, Rev. Ridley Daniel, M.A., *16, Brunswick-place, Brighton, Sussex*.

Unwin, George, Esq., *27, Pilgrim-street*, E.C., and *Town House, Haslemere, Surrey*.

Wadmore, Beauchamp, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., F.S.I., *3, Holywell-hill, St. Albans, Herts*.

*Wagner, Henry, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., *13, Half-moon-street, Piccadilly*, W.

Wallen, Frederick, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., *96, Gower-street*, W.C.

†Waller, John Green, Esq., F.S.A., *75, Charlton-road, Blackheath*, S.E.

Warrick, Robert Betson, Esq., C.C., *4, Verulam-buildings, Gray's-inn*, W.C.

Washington Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A., per Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., *Henrietta-street, Covent-garden*, W.C.

*Watney, Sir John, F.S.A., V.P., *Mercers'-hall, Cheapside*, E.C.

Welch, Charles, Esq., F.S.A., Librarian of the Corporation of London, *Honorary Secretary*, Guildhall Library, E.C., and *Lynwood, Seven-sisters-road*, N.

White, James George, Esq., Deputy, *91, Cannon-street*, E.C.

Wild, James A., Esq., *31, Lawrence-lane, Cheapside*, E.C., and *104, Westbourne-terrace*, W.

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Willesden, Public Libraries (H. S. Newland, Esq., Librarian and Secretary), Public Library, *Harlesden*, N.W.

*Williams, Alfred Goodinch, Esq., F.R.H.S., F.R.S.L., etc., *London Institution*, *Finsbury-circus*, E.C., and *8*, *St. John's Green*, *Abbey-terrace*, *Colchester*, *Essex*.

*Wilson, Cornelius Lea, Esq., *The Cedars*, *Beckenham*, *Kent*.

Wright, William, Esq., *The Grange*, *Denmark-hill*, S.E.

Young, Sidney, Esq., F.S.A., *104*, *High Holborn*, W.C., and *21*, *Highbury-new-park*, N.

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RULES.

Title.

1. The title of the Society shall be—"THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

Objects.

2. The objects of the Society shall be—

a. To collect and publish archæological information relating to the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Counties of London and Middlesex: including primeval antiquities; architecture—civil, ecclesiastical, and military; sculpture; works of art in metal and wood; paintings on walls, wood, or glass; history and antiquities, comprising manors, manorial rights, privileges and customs; heraldry and genealogy; costume; numismatics; ecclesiastical endowments, and charitable foundations; records; and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

b. To procure careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as excavations for railways, foundations for buildings, &c.

c. To make researches and excavations, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making them, and to afford suggestions and co-operation.

d. To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which buildings, monuments and ancient remains of every description may, from time

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to time, be threatened; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions.

e. To promote the practical study of Archæology by the formation of a Library, by visits to places of interest, the reading of papers, the delivery of lectures, and other means.

3. The Society shall consist of ordinary and honorary members, ladies or gentlemen. Membership.

4. The name of every person desirous of being admitted a member shall, on the written nomination of a member of the Society, be submitted to the Council for election.

5. Each ordinary member shall pay an entrance fee of ten shillings, and an annual subscription of one guinea, to be due on the 1st of January in each year, in advance, or £10 10*s.* in lieu of such annual subscription and entrance fee, as a composition for life.

6. Members shall be entitled, subject to Rule 7, to admission to all Meetings of the Society; to the use of the Library, subject to such regulations as the Council may make; and also to one copy of all publications issued during their membership by direction of the Council.

7. No member whose subscription for the preceding year is in arrear shall be entitled to any privilege of membership; and when any member's subscription has been twelve months in arrear, the Council shall have the power to remove from the list the name of such person, whose membership shall thereupon cease.

8. Persons eminent for their literary works or scientific acquirements shall be eligible to be elected by the Council as Honorary members of the Society.

9. Honorary members shall have all the privileges of membership, but shall not be entitled to vote.

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10. It shall be lawful for the Society at a Special General Meeting, by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting, to remove the name of any person from the list of members of the Society without assigning any reason therefor.

11. Persons ceasing to be members shall no longer have any share or interest in the property and funds of the Society.

Council. 12. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council consisting of 20 members to be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, and of the *ex-officio* members mentioned in Rule 17. All the Members of the Council shall retire at each Annual General Meeting, but shall be eligible for re-election. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled up by the Council. Three shall form a quorum.

13. The effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, who shall be at liberty to purchase books, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of the same.

14. The Council shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings as they may deem fit.

15. The Council shall meet at least six times in a year for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society, and shall have power to make their own rules as to the time for and mode of summoning and conducting such meetings.

16. A report of the proceedings of the Society during the previous year, together with a list of members, shall be issued from time to time.

Officers. 17. A President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Trustees, an Honorary Secretary or Secretaries, and an Honorary Editor or Editors shall be elected for one year at each Annual General Meeting, on the nomination of the Council. Any vacancies that may occur during the year may be filled up by the Council. The above officers shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council.

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18. The property of the Society shall be vested in the Trustees, who shall deal with the same as the Council may direct.

19. Two members shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting to audit the accounts of the Society, and to report thereon to the next Annual General Meeting. Any vacancies that may occur during the year shall be filled up by the Council.

20. The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places and under such conditions as may appear desirable.

General Meetings.

21. An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of January or February in every year, at such time and place as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the proceedings and financial condition of the Society for the past year, to elect the officers for the ensuing twelve months, and for other business. Notice of the time and place of such Meeting shall be sent to the members at least seven days previously.

22. Such other General Meetings and Evening Meetings may be held in each year as the Council may direct, for the reading of papers and other business; these meetings to be held at times and places to be appointed by the Council.

23. The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and they shall at all times be bound to do so on the written requisition of ten members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. Notice of the time and place of such meeting shall be sent to the members at least fourteen days previously, stating the subject to be brought forward, and no other subject shall be discussed at such meetings.

24. At every meeting of the Society, or of the Council (except as provided in Rule 10), the resolutions of the majority of those present and voting shall be binding. In the case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second, or casting, vote.

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25. At all General Meetings of the Society five members personally present shall form a quorum.

26. No polemical or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor topics of a similar nature admitted in the Society's publications.

Accounts.

27. An account of Receipts and Expenditure for the year ended on the 31st December preceding, together with a statement of Liabilities and Assets of the Society, duly certified by the Auditors, shall be submitted to each Annual General Meeting. A copy of the accounts shall be circulated amongst the members with the notice convening the Meeting.

28. One-half, at least, of the composition of each life member shall be invested in Trustee securities, the interest only to be available for the current disbursements, and no portion of the principal so invested shall be withdrawn without the sanction of a General Meeting.

Alteration of Rules.

29. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society, except at a Special General Meeting.

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SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN UNION FOR INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

The Society of Antiquaries, *Burlington House, Piccadilly*, W.

The Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton.

The Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archæological Society, *Aylesbury*.

The Cambridge Archæological Society, *Cambridge*.

The Cambridgeshire and Hunts Archæological Society (Rev. C. H. E. White, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary), *The Rectory, Rampton, Cambridge*.

East Herts Archæological Society (W. B. Gerish, Esq., Hon. Secretary), *Bishop's Stortford*.

The Essex Archæological Society.

The Essex Field Club, *Woodford, Essex*.

The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, *The Close, Exeter*.

The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, *Royal Institution, Colquitt-street, Liverpool*.

The Institution of Surveyors, *Great George-street, Westminster*, S.W.

The Kent Archæological Society, *Maidstone, Kent*.

The Oxford Architectural Society, *30, Leckford-road, Oxford*.

The Powys Land Club, *Gungrog, Welshpool*.

The Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities, of Stockholm, *National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden* (per Dr. Anton Blomberg, Librarian).

The Royal Institute of British Architects, *9, Conduit-street, Hanover-square*, W.C.

The Royal Institute of Cornwall, *Truro*.

The St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society.

The Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society, *College-hill, Shrewsbury*.

The Smithsonian Institution, *Washington*, U.S.A.

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, *Bigg Market, Newcastle*.

The Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, *Taunton Castle, Taunton*.

The Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History (Rev. F. E. Warren, M.A., Hon. Secretary), *Bardwell Rectory, Bury St. Edmunds*.

The Surrey Archæological Society, *Guildford*.

The Sussex Archæological Society, *Lewes*.

The Yorkshire Archæological Society (William Brown, Esq., Secretary), *Trenholme, Northallerton, Yorkshire*.

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London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

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49th ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1904.

The Council have great pleasure in presenting to the Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society their Forty-ninth Annual Report for the year 1904.

MEMBERS.—The Roll of Members now stands at 150, composed as follows :—

Life Members	33
Annual	112
Honorary	5

To these must be added eight gentlemen who have been elected by the Council this evening as new Members. The Society has lost during the past year four Members by resignation, also three by death, viz.—Messrs. J. W. Ford, Archibald Day, and Robert Mansfield.

These losses have been more than made good by the large number of 25 new Members who have been elected during the year. A further gratifying circumstance, and one, it is believed, unique in the experience of the Society, is that the whole of the

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subscriptions for the year 1904 have been received without a single arrear, whilst two have been paid in advance.

MEETINGS.—During the past year thirteen General Meetings of the Society have been held. First and chief among them was the Conversazione at Ironmongers' Hall, given to the Society, on Tuesday evening, the 12th of January, by the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers. The Council is chiefly indebted for this courteous hospitality to the kind services of their colleague, Mr. E. H. Nicholl, who is a Past Master of that distinguished guild. The papers read, the objects exhibited, and the generous welcome extended by the Company combined to ensure a successful gathering, which will long be remembered by those who were present on the occasion. To the publicity thus afforded to the Society and its objects, must be chiefly attributed the large number of new Members which has increased the roll of the Society during the past year.

On Saturday afternoon, the 20th February, a visit was paid to two City Churches—St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and Allhallows, Lombard Street, which were described by Mr. Deputy White and the Rev. St. Barbe Sladen respectively.

A meeting was held at Cripplegate and Clerkenwell on Saturday, March 12th, when the churches of St. Giles', Cripplegate, and St. John's, Clerkenwell, and the venerable St. John's Gate were inspected, under excellent local guidance.

On Saturday, the 26th March, by invitation of Mr. George Briggs, Chairman of the Corporation Library Committee, a visit was paid to the Guildhall Library and Museum, the crypt, and the various apartments at the Guildhall, when special attention was

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given to the Museum lately catalogued and arranged by the Librarian and Curator, Mr. Charles Welch, and also to the crypts of the Guildhall, which formed the subject of papers by Messrs. Lethaby and St. John Hope. Mr. Alderman Simmons, a Vice-President of the Society, kindly offered hospitality to those attending this meeting.

A meeting on Saturday, the 30th April, comprised the two interesting churches of St. Swithin, London Stone, and St. Mary-le-Bow, and the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks, who kindly offered hospitality to the meeting. For the privilege of the latter visit the Council is indebted to the kindness of their colleague, Mr. Deputy White, who gave an account of the Hall and ancient Fraternity of Parish Clerks. The Deputy also described the church and parish of St. Swithin, and a valuable paper upon the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow and its ancient crypt was read by Mr. T. W. Shore, Honorary Secretary.

On Monday, 16th May, a Special General Meeting was held, at which a revised set of rules of the Society was considered and adopted. These rules were the outcome of a resolution passed at the last Annual General Meeting requesting the Council to revise the constitution of the Society. The lapse of 50 years since the Society's foundation rendered this task a necessity, and the Council feel assured that their fellow Members will appreciate the successful result of a work which has largely occupied the time of the Council and its Committee during the past year.

On Saturday, 28th May, a country excursion was arranged to Chenies and Chalfont St. Giles. This proved in every way a successful meeting, thanks to the excellent arrangements of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. T. W. Shore.

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A London suburban meeting was held at Canonbury on Saturday, June 4th, when Mr. Charles Townley conducted the Society over Canonbury Tower and the remains of the neighbouring monastic buildings originally owned by the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield. Tea was afterwards served in the grounds of the Canonbury Constitutional Club.

On Saturday, 11th June, a meeting was held at the New River Head, Clerkenwell, where a paper on London's first Conduit System was read by Mr. A. Morley Davies, B.Sc., and the Oak Room with its Grinling Gibbons carving and painted ceiling, Sir Hugh Middleton's "Round pond," and other features of interest were viewed.

On Saturday, 9th July, an excursion was made to Edmonton, Enfield, and Hadley, which included visits to the churches of Edmonton, Enfield, and Monken Hadley, a drive through Enfield Chase to Hadley Wood, and a view of Camlet Moat in Trent Park. This excursion was under the direction of Mr. T. W. Shore, Honorary Secretary, who read a paper on Enfield Chase on the lawn of St. Ronan's School, where tea was kindly provided by the Misses Ledward and Shore.

On Saturday, 8th October, a meeting was held at Croydon, where the church, the Archiepiscopal Palace, and Whitgift's Hospital were visited and described.

On Saturday, 29th October, two Lombard Street churches—St. Edmund the King and Martyr, and St. Mary Woolnoth—were visited, and explained by their rectors, and a paper was read by Mr. T. W. Shore on the Archæological Associations of Lombard Street.

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On Saturday, 10th December, a visit was paid to Barbers' Hall, by permission of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, where the pictures, plate, and records were kindly placed on view. These were explained by Mr. Sidney Young, F.S.A., a Past Master of the Company and its historian.

Council and Officers.—Under Rules 12 and 17 all the Officers and Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election.

It is proposed that Mr. H. C. Richards, M.P., K.C., F.S.A., and Col. Pearson, C.B., be added to the list of Vice-Presidents, and that in their room Mr. R. Harvey Barton and Mr. Sidney Young, F.S.A., be elected Members of the Council.

Publications.—The fifth and final part, completing the first volume of the New Series of the *Transactions*, and containing an index and title-page for the volume, is now ready for distribution. It will also contain the index to the second volume of the *London and Middlesex Inquisitiones post-mortem.*

The New Year has opened sadly for the Society, in the unexpected loss of our respected and valued Honorary Secretary, Mr. T. W. Shore, F.G.S. Almost up to the time of his sudden death, Mr. Shore was actively engaged in work for the Society. His generous enthusiasm impelled him to throw into that work all the energy and self-devotion which were such conspicuous features of his character. His intimate knowledge of Hampshire and other counties, and his experience as organising Secretary of the Hampshire Field Club, enabled him to render to this Society services of the highest value in planning and conducting excursions and visits both in town and country. His high attainments as a geologist and archæologist are revealed in the many valuable

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papers which he has contributed to our *Transactions*, and his removal from amongst us has left a gap which it will indeed be hard to fill.

The Council also lay before the Society the Treasurer's annual statement of accounts, which has been duly audited.

On behalf of the Council,

E. W. BRABROOK.

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Dr. CASH ACCOUNT for the Year 1904. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1st, Balance in Bank	100	14	11	Collector's Salary and Commission (about 1½ years) ...	43	9	0
Interest on Investments	2	0	4	Publications ...	37	4	11
Annual Subscriptions—				Meetings	22	12	10
8, 1903, £8 7 0				Petty Cash and Postages	2	16	4
109, 1904, 114 8 0				Rent	20	0	0
2, 1905, 2 2 0				31st Dec., Balance at Bank	134	9	2
———	124	17	0				
Entrance Fees (24)	12	0	0				
Life Compositions (2)	21	0	0				
	£260	12	3		£260	12	3

E. W. BRABROOK,
Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
W. HAYWARD PITMAN.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To London Institution, Rent ...	20	0	0	By Balance at Bank	134	9	2
„ Subscription in advance ...	2	2	0	„ Investments (Consols) ...	81	10	9
„ Balance in favour	193	17	11	„ Stock of Publications & Library (value not known)	–	–	–
	£215	19	11		£215	19	11

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THIRTY-SIX YEARS' WORK

OF THE

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX Archæological Society.

BY

CHARLES WELCH, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary.

IT is little more than a generation ago that the London and Middlesex Archæological Society was founded by a few zealous antiquaries to conserve the archæological interests of the metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood. The first meeting of the Society was held in December, 1855, when an able address explaining its objects was delivered by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A. These objects were defined by the Council as follows:

"To collect, record, and publish the best information on the ancient arts and monuments of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex. To procure careful observation, and promote the preservation, of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as excavations for railways, foundations of buildings, etc. To make, and to encourage individuals and public bodies in making, researches and excavations, and to afford to them suggestions and co-operation. To oppose and prevent, so far as may be practicable, any injuries with which monuments and ancient remains of every description may, from time to time, be threatened; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof. To found a museum and library for the reception, by way of gift, loan, or purchase, of works and

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objects of archæological interest, connected with London and Middlesex."

At the commencement of a new series of the Society's "Transactions," it may not be out of place to review the past work of the Society, and see to what extent it has realized the objects and intentions of its founders. The field of London archæology is so vast, and the methods of antiquarian research have been so greatly facilitated and extended in recent years by the publication of various classes of national and private records, that there is room for the efforts both of societies and individual workers for many years to come. But the history of the work already accomplished will at least be suggestive to the present members of the Society, whilst, in some departments probably, it may be safely concluded that the labours of many eminent antiquaries who have contributed to its proceedings leave little to be done by future workers. My task, then, is a simple one, viz., to collate, under suitable heads, papers upon various topics which have appeared in the Society's "Transactions." In judging of the amount of work produced by the Society as shown in its *printed* records, it must be remembered that the subscription was for many years a very small one, and that the papers themselves are illustrated on a costly and even lavish scale.

The work of the Society has been by no means limited to the publication of selected papers from its transactions. During the extensive changes that have taken place, within living memory, in the topography of the city of London, the Society has been alive to the importance of recording all discoveries of Roman and mediæval remains made in the progress of excavations in connection with public improvements,

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and the erection of the vast railway termini and other public and private buildings. The meetings, also, which have been held from time to time, have fostered an interest in archæological studies in numbers of persons who have not themselves contributed to the "Transactions" of the Society. And it may be justly claimed that an unconscious sympathy for archæological pursuits and a desire to preserve from injury the relics of ancient London have been developed in citizens of all classes. In many instances ancient buildings and monuments have been saved from destruction or from unwise reparation, either by the direct or indirect efforts of the Society. A glance, too, at the following summary of Transactions will show that the Society has been successful in forming a school of London antiquaries, and a further result of its meetings may be seen in the stimulus which it has afforded to the claims of archæology upon public bodies and individuals.

London's primeval period is dealt with in vol. i., pp. 136-41, and its early municipal history, by G. L. Gomme, F.S.A., in vol. vi., pp. 520-59. In the important department of Roman antiquities, there are the following papers upon discoveries made at various times during excavations in the City: Tessellated Pavements from Bishopsgate Street, Threadneedle Street, Paternoster Row, and Suffolk Lane, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 31, 32); Coffin and Pottery from Bow (i. 192-94); Newgate Street and London Wall, by J. E. Price, F.S.A. (i. 195, v. 403-24). Mr. Price is also the author of some valuable Notes on Roman Remains, being a summary of the discoveries made during a series of years (evening meetings, 68, 69; iii. 194-222; iv. 124-30). Special

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papers are also contributed by the following writers: On the Roman Camp of Suetonius at Islington, by G. Mackenzie (i. 321-23); On Frauds of Antiquity Dealers, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 323-27); On a Leaden Coffin found at Bethnal Green, by H. W. Rolfe (evening meetings, 76-81); On Coffins found at Old Ford and East Ham (ii. 267-69); On an Interment in West Smithfield, by J. E. Price (iii. 37, 38); On a Marble Sarcophagus found at Clapton, by Benj. Clarke (iii. 191-94); On a Sepulchre discovered at Westminster Abbey, by W. H. Black (iv. 60-69); On Two Tombs found at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, by Dr. Norman Moore (v. 293-301); On Leaden Seals, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. (v. 433-35); and on Roman Forces in Britain, by W. Thompson Watkin (v. 527-32).

Coming down to mediæval times, the following subjects have been treated of: Tradition of London Stone, by H. C. Coote (v. 282-292); London Wall, by E. Woodthorpe (i. 338, 339); London City Wall, by Frederick Wallen (iii. 52, 53); Site of the Steelyard, by J. E. Price (iii. 67, 68); Mediæval Kiln for burning Encaustic Tiles at Clerkenwell, by J. E. Price (iii. 31-36); Ward Maces of the City of London (evening meetings, 92, 93, and *passim*); Spurs, by Thomas Wills (evening meetings, 28-30); Crypt at Aldgate, by Alfred White, F.S.A. (iv. 223-230); Contract for organ for Allhallows Barking, by G. R. Corner (evening meetings, 86-90); Three helmets from Cobham Church, Kent, by Thomas Wells (evening meetings, 56-58); Leather knife-sheath, by S. Smirke (i. 119); Regalia at Coronation of Charles II., by Robert Cole (evening meetings, 39-41).

The next division is that of the City Guilds and other ancient fraternities. Many of the following

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papers have given birth to more extended treatises, and the work of the Society in this department has proved of unique value and interest: The English Gild of Knights and their Socn, by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. (v. 477-493); Ordinances of some Secular Guilds, 1354 to 1496, by the same writer (iv. 1-59); Bakers' Company and Hall, by G. R. Corner and others (iii. 54-66); Barber Surgeons, by F. W. Fairholt (i. 346-48); Barber Surgeons, by George Lambert, F.S.A. (vi. 125-89); Drapers' Company, by W. P. Sawyer (vi.*a* 37-64); Dyers' Company, by E. Cookworthy Robins, F.S.A. (v. 441-76); Goldsmiths' Company:—Goldsmiths who have been Aldermen of Aldersgate Ward, by Alderman John Staples, F.S.A. (vi.*a* 1-35), Goldsmiths' Hall, by George Lambert (vi.*a* 74-84); Mercers' Company:—History, and Records, by J. G. Nichols (iv. 131-147), and Plate, by G. R. French (iv. 147-150); Skinners' Company, by J. F. Wadmore (v. 92-182); Stationers' Company:—J. G. Nichols (ii. 37-61), and Records, by C. R. Rivington (vi. 280-340); Vintners' Company:—History, by W. H. Overall, F.S.A. (iii. 404-431), Muniments, by J. G. Nichols (iii. 432-447), Eminent Members, by T. Milbourn (iii. 448-471), and Plate and Tapestry, by G. R. French (iii. 472-491); Hon. Artillery Company, by H. W. Sass (evening meetings, 13-19); Steelyard Merchants, by J. E. Price (iii. 67, 68).

Among the topographical papers is the very interesting "Walk through Bishopsgate," by the Rev. T. Hugo (i. 149-174). In this paper Mr. Hugo made it his object to describe the houses and localities of which no notice had previously appeared in the works of other writers. How well fitted the writer was to carry out such a purpose those who knew him

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personally or are acquainted with his writings will readily acknowledge. It is to be lamented that this eminent antiquary was unable to complete his excellent project of a perambulation of the whole City. The following papers deal very admirably, each in its way, with various districts and localities: Walk from Westminster to the Tower, by W. Tayler (i. 299-307); Cripplegate Parish (i. 339-348); Grub Street, by Henry Campkin (iii. 223-244); Vintry Ward, by W. H. Overall (iii. 404-431); the Hole-Bourne, by J. G. Waller, F.S.A. (vi. 97-123); Tybourne and Westbourne, by J. G. Waller (vi. 244-279).

The interesting subject of monastic life in old London is well illustrated by many writers, and comprises papers on Austin Friars, by Rev. T. Hugo (ii. 1-24); Priory of St. Bartholomew, by Alfred White (i. 336-339); Carthusian Monastery of London, by Archdeacon Hale (iii. 309-331); View of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary Graces or East Minster, which formerly stood eastward of East Smithfield (i. 26); Grey Friars, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 332-335); Priory of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, by Rev. T. Hugo (ii. 169-203); Priory of St. John's, Clerkenwell, by W. Pettit Griffith (iii. 157-170); Hospital of Le Papey, by Rev. T. Hugo (v. 183-221). This division is fitly concluded by a full description of Westminster Abbey as shown in the following papers: Chapter-house, by Sir G. G. Scott (i. 198, 199); Library and its Bindings, by W. H. Hart (ii. 81-87), and J. J. Howard (ii. 88-91); Organ, by J. J. Howard (ii. 92, 93); Ancient Treasury, by Joseph Burtt (ii. 94-99); Monuments, by Henry Mogford (ii. 100-104); Jerusalem Chamber, by Rev. T. Hugo (ii. 107-112); Inventories at the Dissolution, by Rev. M. E. C.

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Walcott (iv. 313-364); Paintings in the Chapter-house, by J. G. Waller (iv. 377-416); Chapels of the Apse, by H. Poole (iv. 448-519); and Inventory, A.D. 1388, by Rev. M. E. C. Walcott (v. 425-432, 439-440).

The researches of various writers into the history of the London churches are numerous and extremely valuable, and include many particulars of the parishes and their residents. The following list is limited to churches within the City and its liberties: All Hallows, Barking:—Contract for an Organ, by G. R. Corner (evening meetings, 86–90), Vicars, by Joseph Maskell (ii. 125-44), Brasses, by J. G. Waller (ii. 160-64), Principal persons interred, by G. R. Corner (ii. 224-58); St. Andrew Undershaft, Notes on Two Brasses, by W. H. Overall (iv. 287-300); St. Anne and St. Agnes within Aldersgate, by T. Milbourn (vi.*a* 71-74); St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, by T. Hayter Lewis (iii. 79-86); St. Dionis Backchurch, by W. D. Cooper (iv. 201-23); St. Giles Cripplegate, by E. Woodthorpe (i. 339-45); St. Helen's, by T. Lott (i. 57-66); St. James, Garlick-Hithe, by W. D. Cooper (iii. 392-403); Lambe's Chapel, Crypt, by E. Woodthorpe (i. 345); St. Mary Aldermary, by J. Whichcord (i. 259-68); St. Mary-le-Bow, by T. Lott (i. 364-65); St. Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel, Church and Parish, by George H. Birch (v. 514-18); St. Mary Somerset, by T. Milbourn (iii. 253-284); St. Matthew, Friday Street, and St. Peter, Cheap, by Rev. Dr. W. S. Simpson (iii. 332-91); St. Olave's, Hart Street, Brasses, by J. G. Waller (ii. 160-4); St. Paul's Cathedral:—Sir Christopher Wren's Original Drawings, by Arthur Ashpitel (iii. 39-51), Visitation Mandate to Dean and Chapter, by Rev. T. Hugo (iii. 245-52), Statutes of the College

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of the Minor Canons, by Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson (iv. 231-52), Calendar of Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, 1800-1877, by Rev. W. S. Simpson (v. 222-233), Short Chronicle of the Cathedral from 1140 to 1341, by the Rev. W. S. Simpson, D.D., F.S.A. (v. 311-26); St. Peter, Cornhill, by Rev. R. Whittington (iv. 301-12); St. Stephen's Chapel, Inventory, by J. R. Daniel Tyssen (iv. 365-76); St. Stephen, Walbrook, by T. Milbourn (v. 327-402); Temple Church, by Edw. Richardson (ii. 65, 66); St. Vedast, Foster Lane, by T. Milbourn (vi.*a* 65-71).

The department of genealogy, biography, and heraldry is strongly represented, and special attention should be drawn to the lives of lord mayors, aldermen, and other City dignitaries. Many of the papers in this section are illustrated by elaborate pedigrees, and by coats of arms. They are as follows: Alderman Edward Backwell, Goldsmith and Banker, by F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A. (vi. 191-230); Letter-book belonging to Sir Anthony Bacon (evening meetings, 10-12); Bellamy and Page, of Harrow, by W. D. Cooper, F.S.A. (1. 285-98); Bohuns and Tiptofts, by Rev. C. Boutell (i. 67-112); Robert de Braybrooke, Bishop of London and Lord Chancellor, by E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A. (iii. 528-46); Copwood Pedigree (ii. 59); Deorman, of London, a Domesday Tenant in Capite, by H. C. Coote (iii. 153-156); Sir Wolstan Dixie, Lord Mayor 1585-86, by T. Brewer (ii. 25-36); Families holding estates which they possessed before the Norman Conquest, by H. C. Coote (evening meetings, 36-39); Notes on Early Goldsmiths and Bankers, by F. G. Hilton Price (v. 255-81); Richard Gough, by J. G. Nichols (i. 319-21); Pedigree of John Hatt, of London, Attorney of Guildhall, A.D. 1634 (evening meetings,

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47); Alderman Sir William Harper, by J. G. Nichols (iv. 70-93); James Huyshe, by H. Huyshe (v. 302-8); John Lovekyn, four times Lord Mayor of London, by J. G. Nichols (iii. 133-37), and Alfred Heales (vi. 341-70); Alderman Philip Malpas and Sir Thomas Cooke, K.B., Lord Mayor, by B. B. Orridge (iii. 285-306); Sir Griffin Markham (evening meetings, 8, 9); Sir John Milbourne, his Family and Almshouses, by T. Milbourn (iii. 138-52); Sir George Monoux, Lord Mayor, and Family, by Rev. G. H. Dashwood (ii. 144-50); John Sadler and Richard Quiney, Citizens and Grocers, by G. R. French (iii. 565-69), and B. B. Orridge (iii. 578-80); Visitation of London, A.D. 1568, ed. J. J. Howard and J. G. Nichols (separate issue); Sir R. Whittington, by Deputy T. Lott (308-12); Henry de Yeveley, one of the Architects of Westminster Hall, by J. G. Nichols (ii. 259-66).

The public buildings and ancient edifices of the City and its neighbourhood have not formed the subject of as many papers as might have been expected. The Society has, however, as we shall see later on, visited many places of interest, although in many cases no record of these visits has been preserved. The following list is, however, sufficiently representative: Christ's Hospital, by Rev. T. Hugo and J. W. Fairholt (i. 332-36); Crosby Place, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 35); Ely Palace, Holborn, by Sir George Gilbert Scott, R.A., F.S.A. (v. 494-503); Four Swans Inn, Bishopsgate Street, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 168); Gray's Inn, by W. R. Douthwaite (iv. 419-24); Guildhall, City Sceptre, Purse, Museum, and Giants, by F. W. Fairholt (i. 351-64); Hampton Court Palace, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 205-8); Inner Temple and Middle Temple (ii. 65-70); Lincoln's Inn, by E. W. Brabrook (iv.

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425-44), and Library, by W. H. Spilsbury (iv. 445-66); Serjeants and their Inns, by E. W. Brabrook (v. 234-54); Sion College and its History, by Rev. W. H. Milman (vi. 53-122); Sir Paul Pindar's House and other Domestic Architectural Specimens in Bishopsgate Street, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 159-73); Spur Inn, Southwark, by B. H. Cowper (evening meetings, 70-76); Temple Bar, Excavations, by F. G. Hilton Price (vi. 231-43); Tower of London:—by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 201, 202), Bell Tower (i. 211-24), Lieutenants of the Tower, by J. G. Nichols (i. 225-42), Imperial State Crown, by J. Tennant (i. 243, 244); Westminster Hall and Courts:—by E. W. Brabrook (vi. 371-400), Early Recollections, by H. Poole (vi. 468-87), Henry de Yeveley, one of its Architects, by J. G. Nichols (ii. 259-66).

The county of Middlesex, though second, of course, in importance to the metropolis itself, contains many interesting suburban parishes, and the following papers fairly represent the salient points in its history and associations: Battle of Barnet, by Rev. F. C. Cass (vi. 1-52); Chipping Barnet, Queen Elizabeth's School, by Rev. F. C. Cass (v. 1-91); Fulham Bridge, by J. F. Wadmore (vi. 401-48); Great Greenford Church, by Alfred Heales, F.S.A. (iv. 151-72); Hampstead, Anglo-Saxon Charters, by Prof. J. W. Hales (vi. 560-70); Hanworth Park and Common, by J. G. Nichols (i. 183-92); Harmondsworth:—Find of coins, by Alfred White (iv. 94-96), Great Barn, by A. Hartshorne (iv. 417, 418); Moor Hall, Harefield, by Rev. T. Hugo (iii. 1-30); Harrow:—History, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 366-69), Harrow Parish Registers and Families, by W. D. Cooper (i. 285-98), Headstone House, near Harrow, by A. Hartshorne (iii. 185-90);

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Heston Church, by Alfred Heales (ii. 204-23); Bells of Hillingdon Church (ii. 77-78); Islington, by G. Mackenzie (i. 321-23); Marylebone, by W. Taylor (i. 327-31); Middlesex and Domesday Book, by Edw. Griffith (i. 175-82); Monken Hadley, Parish and Church, by Rev. F. C. Cass (iv. 253-286); Pinner Church, by Rev. W. M. Hind (iii. 171-84); Antiquities of Staines, by W. Marratt (v. 519-26); Stanwell Church and its Monuments, by Alfred Heales (iii. 105-32); Treaty House, Uxbridge, by S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A. (v. 504-13); Twickenham and its Worthies, by C. J. Thrupp (vi. 449-67); Uxbridge, by W. D. Cooper (ii. 113-24); Willesden:—Pilgrimage to Our Lady of Wilsdon, by J. G. Waller (iv. 173-87), History, by Frederick A. Wood (iv. 189-201).

A final division may be made by grouping the papers upon sculpture, brasses, pictures, metal-work, costume, palæography, libraries and folklore, as represented in the following list: Statues in Vaults at Houses of Parliament (i. 18); Monuments in Westminster Abbey, by Henry Mogford (ii. 100-4); Paper on Brasses, by Rev. C. Boutell (i. 67-112); Brasses at Harrow, by Alfred Heales (i. 269-84); Brasses at Allhallows, Barking, and St. Olave's, Hart Street, by J. G. Waller (ii. 160-64); Latten, by W. H. Overall (iii. 572-76); Paintings:—in the Middle Temple (ii. 65-68), in the Inner Temple (ii. 68-70), in Bridewell Hospital (ii. 70-74), and in Westminster Deanery (ii. 167, 168); Maces, presented by John Sadler and Richard Quiney, Citizens of London, to the Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon, by G. R. French (iii. 565-69); Inquest Plate of Aldersgate Ward (evening meetings, 44, 45); Costume in England, by F. W. Fairholt (evening meetings, 97-102); Grant of the

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Manor of Holborn (i. 124-29); Liber Albus and other Records of the Corporation of London, by Rev. T. Hugo (i. 245-58); Lincoln's Inn Library, by W. H. Spilsbury (iv. 445-66); Sion College Library, by Rev. W. H. Milman (vi. 53-122); Westminster Abbey Library, by J. J. Howard (ii. 81-91); King's Evil, by Robert Cole (evening meetings, 23-27).

Among the places and churches visited by the Society, of which no account is preserved in their "Transactions," are the following: Allhallows Staining; Benford; Clothworkers' Hall; College of Arms; Cordwainers' Hall; St. Dunstan's-in-the-East; Edmonton; Enfield; Finchley; Fishmongers' Hall; Harlington; St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell; Laleham; Leathersellers' Hall; Littleton; St. Martin Outwich; Merchant Taylors' Hall; St. Mildred Poultry; Mansion House; Northolt; Painterstainers' Hall; Perivale Church; Ruislip; and Whitchurch.

The following separate publications have been issued by the Society: "A Description of the Roman Tessellated Pavement found in Bucklersbury," by J. E. Price, 1870; "Roman Antiquities, Mansion House, London," by J. E. Price, 1873; "Temple Bar, or Some Account of 'Ye Marygolde,' 1, Fleet Street," by F. G. Hilton Price, 1875; "The Parish of South Mimms," by the Rev. F. C. Cass, 1877; "On Recent Discoveries in Newgate Street," by J. E. Price, 1879; "On a Bastion of London Wall in Camomile Street," by J. E. Price, 1880; "The Parish of Monken Hadley," by the Rev. F. C. Cass, 1880; "The Parish of East Barnet," by the Rev. F. C. Cass, 1885. "A Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall in May, 1861," was also published by a committee of the Society in 1863-69.

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THE PALACES OR TOWN HOUSES OF THE BISHOPS OF LONDON.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at the Chapter House of S. Paul's Cathedral, on Wednesday, 13th May, 1891,

BY THE

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.,

Sub-Dean of S. Paul's Cathedral.

I.—THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S PALACE, NEAR S. PAUL'S. ITS EARLY HISTORY.

CLOSELY adjoining the Cathedral, on the north-west, stood for several centuries the Palace of the Bishops of London. So far as I am aware, no serious attempt has ever been made to examine into its history. Casual notices of it are to be found in many chronicles and in most surveys of London; but I do not know of any endeavour to trace out its exact situation and extent,[1] nor to determine the period at which it ceased to be the actual residence of the Prelates. I have done my best to elucidate these

[1] When these words were written, the able paper by Mr. H. W. Brewer on *The Churchyard of Old S. Paul's* (in the *Newbery House Magazine* of April, 1891) had not been published. I have read it with great interest, and have studied the accompanying plan very carefully. As will be seen later on, I am able with certainty to carry the wall of the Bishop's garden down to Ave Maria Lane, but I do not think that it extended to the Northern side of Paternoster Row.

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points, and have spared neither labour nor cost in order to arrive at some definite conclusions.

Of course Stow does not omit to mention the building. Writing in 1598,[1] he says:—

"On the north-west side of this Churchyard is the Bishop's Palace, a large thing for receipt; wherein divers kings have been lodged, and great household hath been kept, as appeareth by the great hall, which of late years, since the rebatement of Bishops' livings, hath not been furnished with household menie [meynie] and guests, was meant by the builders thereof, and was of old time used."

"The Dean's lodging on the other side, directly against the palace, is a fair old house, and also divers large houses are on the same side builded, which yet remain, and of old time were the lodgings of prebendaries and residentiaries, which kept great households and liberal hospitality, but now either decayed, or otherwise converted."

In Strype's edition of Stow, issued in 1754,[2] the above sentences are much modified, and there is added to the brief mention of the Palace, the statement that it has been "long since converted into tenements, now called *London-House-Yard*," and that "the ground-rents are the Bishop's."

Sir William Dugdale carries us a little further, and tells us, what we should have readily supposed would be the case, that the Palace contained a chapel. He uses, indeed, the phrase, "the lower chapel," which indicates very clearly that there were two chapels: that is, probably, as at Lambeth Palace, a chapel with a crypt beneath it, which crypt was, in fact, a second chapel.

Here is Dugdale's account of the foundation and endowment of a chantry. I have carefully examined

[1] I use Mr. Thoms' edition. Stow, *Survey of London*, written in the year 1598 (a reprint of the edition of 1603), p. 138.

[2] Stow. *Survey*, edited by Strype. Sixth edition, 1754. I. 709,710.

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the entry on the Patent Roll, from which I give a short extract below.[1]

Dugdale states[2] that—

"In the lower chapel, within the Bishop's Palace, did William de S. Maria, (*a*) Bishop of London, in the first year of King John, found a chantry of one chaplain to celebrate and pray for the souls of the Bishops of London and their successors; endowing it with a certain yearly rent, issuing out of the churches of Poltendon in Essex, and Mesdon in Hertfordshire, as also with two parts of the tythes of his lands within the Mannour of Harington, and of the old park at Hadham.[3] After this, *scil.* in 4 Henry IV, Sir Gerard Braybroke, Knight, Edmund Hampden and John Boys, Esquires, gave their Mannour of Losthalle, in the said county of Essex, to another priest perpetually celebrating in the same chapel, and to his successors, to the intent that they should pray for the good estate of the said founders;[4] as also of Robert Braybroke, then Bishop of London, and for the health of his soul after his departure hence; and moreover for the souls of John Grandison, some time Bishop of Exeter, Nicholas Braybroke, Canon of Paul's, and all christian souls."

The original deed of foundation of this chantry, with two out of four seals appendant, is still preserved among the Harleian Charters in the British Museum. In 1408, these two chantries were united

[1] Concessimus et licentiam dedimus . . . Gerardo Braybrok junior Miles (*sic*) . . . pro viginti marcis . . . quandam cantariam de uno Capellano divina ad Altare beatæMariæ infra palacium Episcopi London in London navi ecclesiæ sancti Pauli London contiguam . . . pro salubri statu venerabilis patris Roberti Episcopi London dum vixit, et pro anima sua cum ab hac luce migravit, ac anima magistri Nicholai Braybrok nuper canonici Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London . . . (*Patent Rolls.* 4 Hen. IV, p. 2. m. 18.)

[2] History of S. Paul's. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 1818, p. 93.

(*a*) That is, William of S. Mère l'Eglise, Bishop, 1199-1221.

[3] Certif. de Cantar, f. 27, b. et 28. a.

[4] Pat. 4 Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 18.

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by Bishop Clifford, "in respect that the former of them was so slenderly endowed."

In the Deed (*a*) uniting various chantries in the Cathedral, both chapels are indicated. It deals with "quandam cantariam in inferiori capella infra Palacium Episcopale prope Ecclesiam Cathedralem Sancti Pauli Londoñ, subtus majorem capellam in dicto Palacio situatam:" and it speaks of "Altare beatæ Mariæ in capella supradicta navi dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ Sancti Pauli contigua."

The Rev. George Hennessy has compiled from the Episcopal Registers and from the Patent Rolls, a list of the names of the chantry priests appointed to these chantries,[1] and he kindly allows me to print that list as a note to the present paper. It would appear from his labours that some of these priests officiated in the Chapel of S. Mary, and others in the lower chapel, *in Bassa Capella*, but as the one list does not commence until after the latest date in the other, it is possible that the Chapel of S. Mary and the *Bassa Capella* are but one. The deed just quoted does not supply decisive information on this point: the *Capella Supradicta* may be either the *Inferior Capella*, or the *Major Capella*.

Two vellum rolls are preserved in the Cathedral,[2] recording unimportant alterations in the Palace. The first is dated 10 and 11 Henry IV, and is headed "Reparaciones domorum palacii:" it contains little

(*a*) Printed in my *Registrum Statutorum*.

[1] In 1271, we find mention of "Cantaria infra Palatium Episcopi London in London, navi Ecclesiæ S. Pauli London contigua." See my *Documents*. 179. quoting Liber L.

[2] The Rolls are preserved in Press B, Box 95.

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worth extracting. Such purchases as that of "a Boket ad fontem palacii," or of "cccc ffyue-peny naills XX*d.*" must have been of frequent occurrence.

The second roll is entitled "Thes be the costes y^t ben do in the New Pallys and in the tennentrees in Pator Noster Rowe y^n the xviij yere of King Edward the iiij^th": but the details are very unimportant, repairs of gutters, and the like. It is, perhaps, a little curious to find the Palace called "the New Pallys" in 1478, as we have already seen that it existed in the reign of King John. May we infer that the Palace had lately been rebuilt? In 1445, the steeple of S. Paul's was struck by lightning,[1] "on Candlemas eeuen," and in the fire which "burst out of the steeple," much mischief was done to the lead and to the timber: but I am not aware that the conflagration reached the Palace.

In 1395, Bishop Braybroke dates a document *infra Palacium suum London situatum.*[2] To the Priests of the Lancaster Chantry the same generous prelate gave part of his Palace "a certain piece of ground, containing in length 36 feet, and in breadth 19 feet," as a place of residence.[3]

Can we determine the exact site of the Bishop's Palace? We can, with tolerable accuracy.

The famous Cemetery called Pardon Church Haugh, surrounded by its cloister, adorned with the solemn painting of the Dance of Death, lay on the north side of the Cathedral; limited on the east by the north transept, and on the south by the north

[1] Riley. *Chronicles of the Mayors, &c.*, 184, 185.

[2] See my *Statuta S. Pauli*, 362.

[3] Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, 27.

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aisle of the nave. Westward of this Churchyard, stood the Palace.

The building touched the Cathedral itself, as may be seen from the following passage in a contemporary account[1] of the fire of 1561.

"The state of the steple and churche seming both desperate: my Lord Mayor was aduised by one Maister Winter of ye Admiraltie, to conuerte the moste part of his care and prouisiō to preserue the Bishop's Palace adioynyng to the north-west end of the church: least frō that house beinge large, the fier might sprede to the stretes adioyning. Wherupon the ladders, buckets, and laborers, were comaunded thither, and by greate labor and diligence, a piece of ye roofe of the northe ile was cut down, and the fier so stayed, and by muche water, that parte quenched, and ye said Bishop's house preserved."

John Philpot passes from the Bishop's Palace by a private "door that goeth into the church," and he says,[2] "whoso walketh in the Bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel may see my window, and me standing in the same." From which it would appear that an external gallery gave access to the chapel.

We have, so far, determined the eastern boundary of the Palace, that is to say, the cloister wall of Pardon Church Haugh; and we have fixed its south-east angle, which touched the north-west tower of the Cathedral. I am able to determine, with some approach to accuracy, the western boundary. In the Record Office is an unpublished document, entitled, "A Copy of Parcel of the Survey of the Bishop of London's Palace," dated 1650, when the honest men of the Protectorate were freely dealing with other men's property. From this it appears

[1] Reprinted in my *Chapters in the History of Old S. Paul's*, p. 137.
[2] Foxe. *Acts and Monuments*, vii, 647, 648.

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that "parcel of the garden containing from east to west 52 foot of assize, together with the passage into Ave Mary Lane," was leased by the Bishop of London to Henry King, D.D., since Bishop of Chichester, for twenty-one years, rendering yearly 21*s*. This property is now enjoyed, continues the writer, by John Ireton, mercer, by order of the *Committee of Sequestration*.

"The said garden is on the west divided from Ave Mary Lane by a great brick wall, containing from the South corner thereof to the north corner thereof, reaching to an house in Pater Noster Row, now the 3 White Lyons . . . the whole length of that brick wall on that side, being 113 foot of assize."

At the north-west corner of the garden was a tenement, built in the garden, "between the Bishop's then hay barn, south, and the house then in the occupation of William Cicedall, north, containing in length from east to west, with the thickness of the wall, at the west end, 21 foot of assize, and in breadth from north to south 15 foot of assize."

The hay barn was converted by Ireton and Humfreyes into "a fair large warehouse," which adjoined the shop in Pater Noster Row aforesaid, called the 3 White Lyons, on the north, and abutted on Ave Mary Lane, west, containing from east to west about 35 foot of assize, and from north to south 20 foot of assize.

These very precise measurements would almost enable us to construct a plan of the ground occupied by the Palace and its gardens. The northern boundary of the gardens appears to reach nearly to Paternoster Row—the western boundary for at least 113 feet, is Ave Mary Lane. From the corner of Paternoster Row to Ludgate Hill, measuring along

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Ave Maria Lane, is about 200 feet. The Bishop's garden occupied, therefore, more than half the length of the Lane. Going eastward from the corner of Paternoster Row, the ground included what is still called London House Yard: from which we must draw a line to the north-west angle of Pardon Church Haugh, a point not indeed precisely determined, but still ascertainable within very narrow limits.

On the strip of ground lying between the Bishop's garden and Ludgate Street, stood the houses of the Vicars. We possess amongst the archives (*a*) a "Demise of part of the tenement known as the Vicarage of the Vicars Choral of S. Paul's, bounded on the east by the Penitenciaries' House, on the west by Ave Maria Lane, on the south by the highway leading through S. Paul's Churchyard, and on the north by the Bishop's Palace." It is dated January 20, Elizabeth 45. The property comprised a mansion, hall, butteries, a garden, a long alley, and a little house within the said garden, sometimes called the Vicars' Stillitory House.[1]

By the kindness of Mr. F. C. Penrose, I am enabled to illustrate this paper with a copy of a portion of a plan of the ancient Cathedral, preserved in the Wren Collection at All Souls' College, Oxford.[2] The original is on vellum.

The plan fortunately extends beyond the limits of the walls of the Cathedral, and exhibits the eastern

(*a*) Press A, Box 24, No. 524.

[1] Stillatorie. A still: also a place where distillations were performed. *Halliwell.*

"Next to the stillatory wait for me." *Beaumont and Fletcher.* "*Faithful Fr.*," IV., 3. *Nares.*

[2] My cordial thanks are due to Mr. C. H. Löhr for a careful tracing from the plan.

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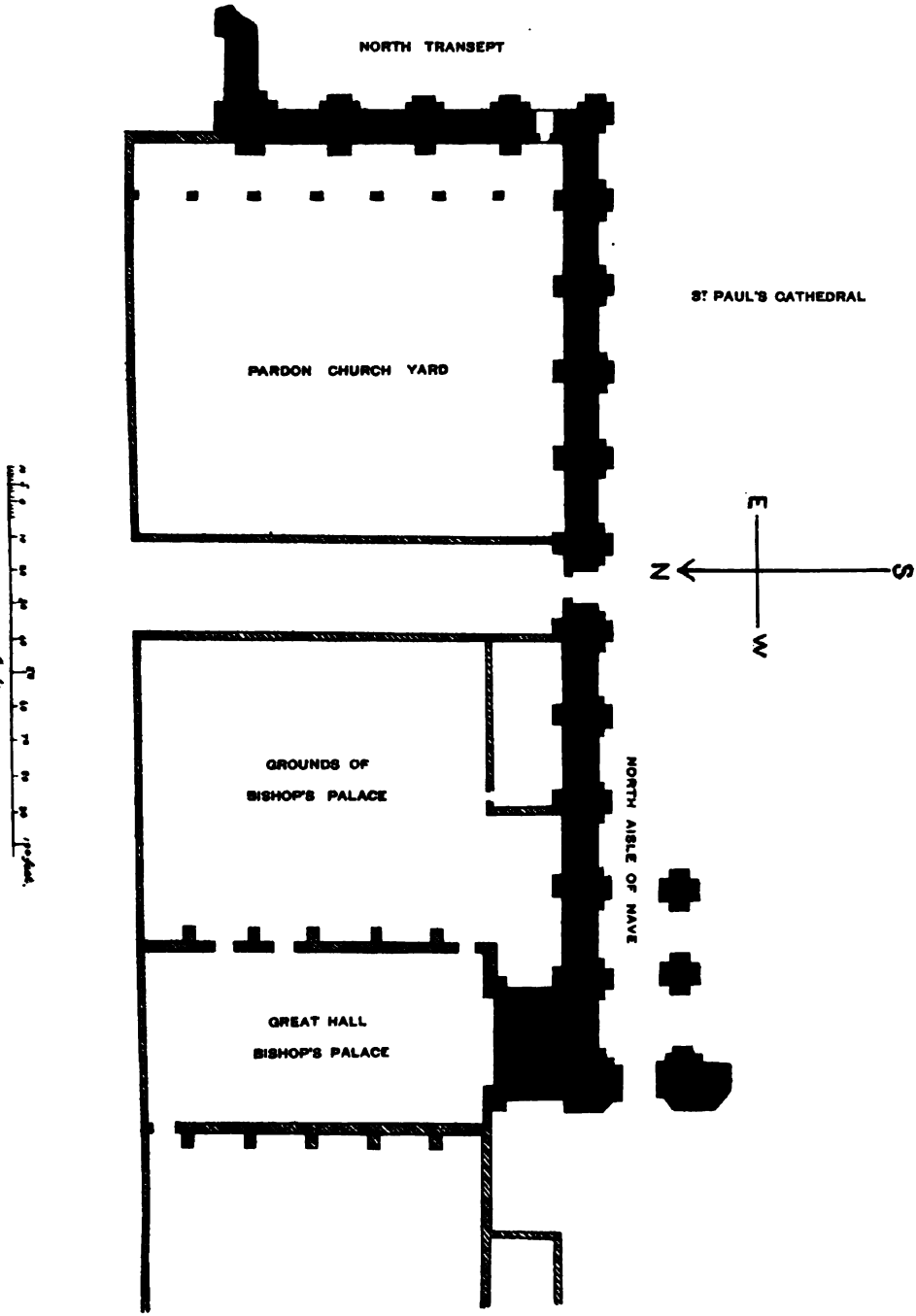

PLAN SHEWING SITE OF BISHOP'S PALACE AND PARDON CHURCH YARD. BEFORE 1620.

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side of the Great Cloister, the alley leading to the "Little North Door," together with a portion of the Bishop's Palace. The large building, lying north and south, is evidently the Great Hall of the Palace; and it seems not unlikely that the lesser building lying to the westward is the principal entrance, the Great Gateway. The original plan was made before the addition of Inigo Jones's Portico: that is before the year 1620.

Leaving these somewhat dry details, let us turn to some historical incidents of which the Palace was the scene.

Here is a very early notice of the Palace from the chronicle of Ralph de Diceto.

Walter of Coutances, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, then Archbishop of Rouen, arrives in London on May 19th, 1194, and is received in S. Paul's Cathedral with a solemn procession. It was Ascension Day, and the prelate preached. Mass ended, he was received with great honours, and feasted in the Bishop of London's Palace.[1]

Here, in 1309,[2] "xiii° Kalendas Novembris abbas Latinensis* et Magister Haymo sedebant *in aula* Episcopi Londoniensis super inquisitione Templariorum." The lands of the Knights Templars in England had been seized on January 10th, 1308.

Here, in 1312,[3] in the Bishop's House near S. Paul's, is lodged Cardinal Arnold: and whilst he lay there, one of his servants is slain near the church, *in atrio*,

[1] In domo Domini Lundoniensis cum lautarum affluentiis epularum receptus est honorifice. Ralph de Diceto. *Opera Historica*, ii. 115.

[2] Bishop Stubb's *Chronicles Edward* I & II. I. 268.

* Deodatus, Abbot of Lagny (Latigniaco). Wilkin's *Concilia*. II. 329.

[3] *Ibid.* I., lxxvi., 272, Aug. 26.

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and the churchyard is polluted by this blood-shedding. A little later, the Bishop of S. David's reconciles the cemetery. Arnulphus, tituli sanctæ Priscæ Cardinalis, had been sent by the Pope *pro pace reformanda inter regem et comites.*

S. Paul's suffered much in the way of desecration from outrage and violence. "There was bloodshed there in October, 1329, when a certain squire struck Richard of Biflete, a rector of a parish unknown, at the Altar of S. John Baptist in the New Work. Service was suspended for five days: then the Archdeacon of Essex fetched holy water from the Bishop at Fulham." (*a*)

In 1321,[1] "the King Edward II found time to pay a visit to S. Paul's on the day of the commemoration of the patron saint. He was received with a procession, and the canons sent him a present of hot wastel cakes of S. Paul's." It was the day of the summer festival of S. Paul, June 30th. "The statutes of the Cathedral contain a great many directions about the bread baked at S. Paul's for the great staff of the church, and the regular allowance of commons made to each person according to his degree. Probably the king, as an honoured guest, was presented with commons of the best. Paul's bake-house yard still survives to commemorate this piece of cathedral economy: and a small loaf of the *panis sancti Pauli* is still given to each canon at his installation."

"Wastel bread," says Archdeacon Hale,[2] "was the best kind of wheaten bread, as appears from the *Assisa*

(*a*) Bishop Stubbs' *Chronicles.* I., xcvi.

[1] Bishop Stubbs' *Chronicles,* &c. I., lxxxi., 297: "De gastellis sancti Pauli callidis."

[2] *Domesday of S. Paul's,* cxxxi. He is commenting upon a passage in a *Compotus Bracini S. Pauli* of 1283.

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panis et cervisiae (*Statutes of the realm*, f. 199), and also from the fact that at S. Paul's it was baked only for particular occasions, such as the Festivals of S. Paul and the Rogation Days, when the canons had three wastel loaves a day, and other members of the Church in proportion. The extravagance of the Princess in the care of her dogs is thus indicated in Chaucer's *Prologue*:

> Of smale houndes had she, that she fedde
> With rosted flesh and milk and wastel bread."

In the accounts of Gabriel Donne, Canon and Stagiary in 1555, I find a charge for these pleasant viands. Crystofer Hawk, Pitensarie to the minor canons received, on their behalf:

> P^d.^ for flawne monye on ye Rog'con dayes v^s.^ ij^d.^
> It, for Wassells on S. Pawle's daye ij^s.^ xj^d.^

and in this year there was

> P^d.^ to the Clerk of the Bake house for
> bred money, Wastells and fflawnes* xxiiij^li.^ xvj^s.^ ij^d.^

"On Monday next after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th Sept., 1297), in the 25th year

* An earlier *account*, rendered in 1522–3, enters into very minute details as to the distribution of the Wastells or Gastells, which, it appears, were valued at one penny each.

The Residentaries, then five in number, had each eight gastells; the major canons, four each; the sub-dean and the two cardinals, four each; the succentor three, other minor canons, two each; ten choristers, one each; the vergers, two each; the Curate of S. Gregory, and the clerk of the same church, one each.

On the Conversion of S. Paul, gastells were given to such only as were present at the procession. The two carriers of the Doe had nothing this

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of the reign of King Edward I, the warden and aldermen" of the City of London "were summoned before the son of our lord the king and his council, in the house of the Bishop of London at S. Paul's: and there delivery was made by the hands of Sir John de Langalone, the then chancellor of our lord the king," unto the aldermen, concerning divers matters. They were to enquire what people were able to bear arms. They were also to guard the city, and to erect barriers and chains where need shall be; more especially towards the water, by the Friars Preachers, now called the Black Friars.[1] These were troublous times. Wallace was ravaging the north of England. Four days before, Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, was slain at Cambuskenneth near Stirling; his body horribly mutilated by the victors. The king had sailed for Flanders on Aug. 22nd, leaving his son Edward as regent. Hence these precautions.

From the Bishop's Palace the Lady Katherine of Arragon passed to the Cathedral for her ill-fated marriage to Arthur Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII.

The young princess had a very stormy passage from Spain to her new home. A furious south wind

year, for the excellent reason that there was not a Doe offered at the Feast.

The distribution on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul cost 12*s.* 2*d*; and on the commemoration of S. Paul 11*s.* 1*d.*, that is to say that 146 were given away on the first occasion, and 133 on the latter.

Flawnes, also valued at one penny, were distributed on the Monday and Tuesday in Rogation week.

Other recipients were, the keeper of S. Paul, the keeper of S. Erkenwald, the two keepers of Holy Cross, the illuminer of wax candles, six vicars, all which persons received one gastell each; whilst two of the said vicars carrying the copes, and the rulers of the choir received an extra gastell.—Pridden Papers MSS. S. Paul's Cathedral.

[1] Riley. *Memorials*, 35, 36.

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assailed them, a succession of thunderstorms terrified them, the sea ran mountains high. Her beauty, her agreeable and dignified demeanour, won the hearts of all who saw her. An autograph letter in Latin, from Henry VII to her parents, is still extant, in which the king speaks in high terms of her.[1]

A marriage had already taken place by proxy between the prince and princess on Whit Sunday, May 19th, 1499: on Sunday, November 14th, 1501, the solemn marriage in S. Paul's Cathedral was celebrated. The princess had landed at Plymouth on the second of October, and it had been intended that she should have been the guest of the Archbishop at Lambeth. The house, however, had been dismantled at the death of Archbishop Morton, and the new Archbishop, Henry Dean, had not been able to prepare for her reception: the Bishop of Rochester, Richard Fitz James, received her at *La Place*, his residence in Lambeth.

Shortly before the marriage the princess took up her abode at the Bishop of London's Palace. Hither she returned after the magnificent ceremonial. "The wedded pair were lodged for some nights in the Bishop's Palace. Six months had not passed when Arthur was in his grave, and the prudent king was already meditating the marriage of the high-dowered widow with Prince Henry."[2]

The chroniclers of the time can scarce find words to express the splendour of the marriage pageant. The Archbishop officiated in person. He was attended by the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, Rochester, Llandaff,

[1] Dean Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, v., 518, *et seqq. Simancas Papers* 305, 311.
[2] Milman. *Annals*, 170–172.

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Bangor, and the Abbots of Stratford, Bermondsey, and Tower Hill. A costly pageant of S. Katherine and S. Ursula had greeted the princess at London Bridge, as she entered the city; a second pageant awaited her at Gracechurch Street, a third at Cornhill, a fourth at Soper Lane, a fifth at the Standard in Cheap, a sixth at Paul's Gate. The conduit in Cheap "ran with Gascoigne wine, and was furnished with musicke." A raised platform of timber, at the height of six feet from the ground, had been constructed from the West door of the Cathedral to the topmost step leading into the choir. A platform "like unto a mountaine with steps on every side, which was covered over with red wusted" was erected near the commissaries court, and "upon the above named mountaine was Prince Arthur, about the age of 15 yeeres, and the Lady Katherine, about the age of 18 yeeres, both clad in white satine, maried by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by 19 bishops and abbots mitered."[1]

The Grey Friars Chronicler[2] is not so much dazzled by the dimensions of the platform. In his hands the "mountaine" shrinks, if not to the size of a mole hill, at least to a more modest bulk. He is content to describe a *half pace*, that is a raised floor or platform, or, as he puts it—

"A halpas made of tymber from the west dore to the qwere dore of xii foote brode and iiii fotte of hyghte. And in the myddes of the same maryd. And the fest holden in the byshoppe of London palles."

The Tuesday following, the king and queen, who had been "all this season at Barnard's Castle, came

[1] Dugdale's *S. Paul's*, and Stowe's *Annals*.
Monumenta Franciscana, II., 184.

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unto Pawles, and heard there masse, and then, accompanied with many nobles" went unto the Palace, and there dined with the newly married pair.

"Bowers" had been constructed from the Palace gate to the great west door of the Cathedral.[1] The whole church was hung with arras "so high that the lowest part thereof be seven or eight feet from the ground." A door was specially made over against the consistory, so that the king and queen might pass from the Bishop's Palace into the Cathedral, secretly, to the great platform in the nave. After the marriage, the youthful pair passed to their places near the high altar, for the mass. After mass, the prince departed, that he might receive the princess in the palace at her chamber door, he passing through the consistory door; the princess, led by my Lord of York, passed along the platform, the whole length of the church, out at the great west door, in at the great gate of the Bishop's Palace, "and so to her great chamber, where, at the door thereof" the prince received her, "as the custom of England is." Meanwhile "the minstrels, and after, the trumpets shall play, every man after his faculty;" and a "solemn conduit pompously devised" began to run divers sorts of good wine, from the time that the princess entered the palace, and so continually to run all that day and part of the night.

Of the feast which followed the marriage, Hall, the chronicler[2] says, that it was "sumptuous, and yet not so sumptuous as populous, nor yet so

[1] Malcolm. *Londinium Redivivum*, iii, 160–164; quoting the original orders of the King in Council. *Cotton MSS. Vespasian*, CXIV.

[2] Dean Hook, *Archbishops*, v., 521.

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populous as delicate, nor so delicate as of all things abundant."

In the next scene Henry VIII is the central person. The Pope had sent a sword and cap of maintenance to the king. Fitz James was now Bishop of London. A vivid description, drawn from the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador, is given by Dean Milman.[1]

"The king was in London, at the Bishop's Palace adjoining S. Paul's Cathedral, the two buildings being separated by a small square *(campiello)*[2] through which, on Sunday, May 21st, 1514, a grand procession moved . . . The position of the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral," says the ambassador, "might be likened to that of S. Mark's tower and church.

The sword, long, with a gilded guard and scabbard—the cap, of purple satin, "a foot long, with a turned-up brim, covered with embroidery and pearls, with sundry small pendant tails of ermine," were presented to the king at the high altar. Both were emblematical, and it was not intended that he should wear them: but two nobles girded him with the sword, and placed the cap on his head, "which, by reason of its length, covered his whole face."

Music, vocal and instrumental, was performed during high mass: and then followed a banquet in the Bishop's Palace. The ambassador expresses his amazement at the massive gold chains worn by the nobles. They might have served, he says, "for fetters for felons' ankles, and sufficed for their safe

[1] Milman. *Annals*, 172–175.

[2] Is this "small square" the open space westward of the Cathedral, or is it, possibly, an enclosure within the walls of the Palace?

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custody, so heavy were they, and of such immense value."

Pope Julius II had sent to Henry VII a consecrated sword. Cardinal d'Amboise, the minister of Louis XII, also sent as a propitiatory offering, on S. George's Day, 1505, a leg of S. George encased in silver. This precious relic was exhibited by Archbishop Warham's command, in S. Paul's Cathedral.[1]

It would be useless to attempt to gather together all the passages in which the old chroniclers relate incidents occurring in or near the Bishop's Palace. One or two more brief extracts must suffice: they are chiefly drawn from quaint old Machyn:

"The ij day of November, 1551, cam to London from Hamton Courtte, and landyd at Benard Castyll, the old Qwyne of Schottes, and cam rydyng to the Bysshope Palles at Powlles with many lordes, the Duke of Suffoke, my Lord Marqwes of Northampton, my Lord of Warwyke, the Lord Welebe, my Lord Haward, my Lord Rosselle, Lord Bray, and dyvers mo lords and knyghtes and gentyllmen; and then cam the Qwyne of Schottes and alle owre lades and her gentyll women and owre gentyll women, tho the nomber of a C., and ther was sent her mony grett gyftes by the Mayre and Aldermen, as beyffes, mottuns, velles, swines, bred, wylld ffulle, wyne, bere, spysys, and alle thyngs, and qwaylles, sturgeon, wod and colles, and samons, by dyver men."[2]

On November 4th, the Queen rode to Court at Whitehall,[3] the guards awaiting her there "in their best coats." The King saluted her,

"and dyd inbrasse her, and kyssyd her, and took her by the hand, and led her up in to the chambur of presence; and so ther was a

[1] Dean Hook. *Archbishops*, vi, 187.
[2] Machyn. *Diary*, 11, 322.
[3] See also Stow's *Annals*, 606, edition of 1631.

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bankett, and so when all was done the Queen toke her horsse and was browght unto the Bysshope's Palesse to soper, and ther she laye."

The entry relates to Mary of Guise, queen dowager of Scotland, who embarked at Edinburgh to visit her daughter in France, September 7th, 1550; on her return she landed at Portsmouth, on November 2nd, 1551.

On August 5th, 1554, "cam out of the Marsalsay," says Machyn, with a spelling which is quite his own, "the old Bysshop of London, Bonar, and dyvers bysshops bryng hym home unto ys plasse at Powlles," that is, I have little doubt, to his Palace.[1]

"The xxiiij day of May, 1559, the inbassadurs the Frenche were browth from the Byshope Palles by land through Flet Street, unto the Qwen's Pales to soper, by the most nobull men ther was abowt the Cowrt, and ther was the hall and the privy chambur, and the grett chambur of pressens hangyd with ryche clothes of arres as ever was sene, and the cloth of state boyth hall and grett chamburs, and they had as grett chere at soper, and after a bankett as goodly as has been seen, with all maner musyke tyll mydnyght."

"The xxv day they wher browt to the Cowrt with musyke to dener, for ther was gret cher; and after dener to bear and bull baytyng, and the Quen's grace and the Embassadurs stod in the galere lokyng of the pastym tyll vj at nyght; and after they whent by water unto Powll wharff, and landyd, and contenent[2] unto ther logyng to the Byshope of London to soper, for ther wher gorgyus aparell as has ben sen in thes days.

"The xxvj day of May they whent from the Byshope howsse to Powlles warff, and toke barge, and so to Parys garden, for ther was boyth bare and bull baytyng, and the capten with a C. of the gard to kepe rowm for them to see the baytyng."

These "inbassadurs of France whent" away on

[1] Machyn *Diary*, 39. Strype, however, transcribes it "unto his place." *Mem.* III, i, 27.

[2] Incontinently unto their lodging.

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the xxviij day of May, "and they cared money mastiffs with them for the wolf." [1]

The French Ambassadors were Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, Anne Duc de Montmorenci, Jacques Marquis de Fronsac, Jehan de Morvillier Bishop of Orleans, and the Chevalier Claude de l'Aubespiere.[2]

"The Constable Montmorency," writes De Quadra to Phillip II, on May 30th, "with a number of French noblemen, have come over to ratify the treaty. On Corpus Christi day they were all at the royal chapel. The Queen placed herself close to the altar, and made Montmorency and his companion sit by her side, much to the scandal of the Catholics, to see them in such a place. Some English prayers and psalms, and I know not what were read, after which were to have followed some chapters, but as the chaplains began one chapter after another, the Queen cried out: 'Not that! I know that already. Read something else.'"[3]

It was an anxious time. De Quadra is writing about the Queen's proposed marriage. "She declared," he said, "she would never have a husband who would sit all day by the fireside. When she married it should be a man who could ride, and hunt, and fight. The Council," he adds, "are in an agony to have her married to someone."

I conclude with an extract relating to an archery match, between the inhabitants of S. Gregory's parish.

"The xiiij day of July, 1562, was a grett sh[ooting of the] parryche of Sant Gregores in Powlles chyrche-yerd, [the one] halff

[1] Machyn *Diary*, 198.
[2] Editorial note to Machyn's *Diary*, 373. (See Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv., 503).
[3] Froude, *History*, vii, 95, 96,

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agaynst the thodur; on syd had yelow [scarves, and] thodur red skarffes, and a vj drumes and iiij fluttes; [and so] to my lord of London('s) plase to soper, a. c. mes[ses.][1]

S. Gregory's Church adjoined the Cathedral on its south-western side, occupying a position analogous to that of the Bishop's Palace on the opposite side. "My Lord of London," Edmund Grindal, gives a supper to his neighbours.

NOTE.

List of Chantry Priests in the Bishop of London's Palace. Compiled by the Rev. George Hennessy.

CHAPEL OF S. MARY.

Bandake			
51.b	Richard de Teye, pr.	1322. Sept. 4	
72.b	William de Stokton, deacon	1329. May 1	
	Bartholomew Sidey		Ex. 1362
	Thomas Keynes	1363. June 28	
	John Querneby, cl.		Ex. 1364
	William Boughbrigg	1364. Apr. 13	
	Richard de Pertenhale		R. 1366
	John Appelby, LL.D.	1366. Oct. 4	Ex. 1366 Oct.
	John de Egyngton	1366. Oct. 21	
	John Bonoyre de Berkyng		Ex. 136$\frac{7}{8}$
	John	136$\frac{7}{8}$. Mar. 17	
	Thomas West		Ex. 1368
	John de Newenham	1368. Apr. 28	
	Richard de Pertenhale		R. 1370
	John Ereton, pr.	1370. July 1	
86.b	Thomas de Sudbury	1371. Oct. 28	Ex. 1371
87	John Thetsand	1371. Oct. 31	

[1] Machyn's *Diary*, 287-288

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IN BASSA CAPELLA.

Pat. Roll.	9, Henry V. pt. 2.		
m. 7	Richard Prentys	1421. Nov. 23	Ex. 1430
36.b	John Wylberfosse	1430. Oct. 12	D. 1435
36.b	William Waynflete	1435. June 23	
	William Elyot		D. 1439
23	William Kyrkeby, S.T.P.	1439. Sept. 26	R. 1439
23	Abel Lyvermore	1439. Oct. 9	D. 1467
105.b	Thos. Graunger, B.D.	1467. Apr. 10	R. 1486
211	Thos. Oty, cap.	1486. Dec. 11	
	John Belowe		D. 1518
76	John Graunger, cap.	1518. Oct. 9	D. $151\frac{8}{9}$
77.b	Robert Toller, cap.	$151\frac{8}{9}$. Jan. 13	D. $152\frac{2}{3}$
2.b	Thos. Burton, cap.	$152\frac{2}{3}$. Mar. 10	D. 1523
4	Stephen Hytton, cap.	1523. May 24	R. 1534
24.b	Robert Hygden, S.T.B.	1534. Oct. 24	R. 1542
140.b	John Longe, LL.B.	1542. June 22	D. 1544
150.b	John Combes, pr.	1544. Dec. 13	

II.—THE BISHOP'S PALACE, NEAR S. PAUL'S.

ITS PRISONS.

The Bishop's Palace has other associations connected with it, besides those of royal receptions, and of stately banquets. Like other episcopal residences,[1]

[1] William Hynelond, clerk, leaves in his will, dated on the Feast of S. Lucy, virgin, 1371, certain gifts to the prisoners in the Bishops' Palaces, viz: at Storteford, Canterbury, Rochester, Westminster, Sarum, Wells, and Oxford. Dr. Sharpe. *Calendar of Wills*, ii., 152.

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it had not only a stately banquet hall—it had also its dreary, gruesome prisons.

The Coal House in the Palace is a prison very familiar to the readers of the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe.[1]

Here in October, 1555, lies John Philpot, martyr. "We were brought," he says, "through Paternoster Row to my lord of London Coal House; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us had tried them."[2] To this place he is remitted from time to time. "I was carried to my lord's Coal House again, where I, with my six fellows, do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down."[3] A little later, he is examined "in the gallery of my lord of London's Palace," before several bishops; and, by and by, the Bishop came into the Coal House at night, "with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before. Whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandments, in visiting the prisoners, seeing that he was never with them that were so near his nose." A palpable hit! good Master Philpot! "And he came not then for any good zeal to view the place, and thought it too good for me."[4] Still later, he is examined in the Bishop's Chapel, having previously been brought down into the Wardrobe, where, with a

[1] For convenience of reference I use the octavo edition in eight volumes, issued by Seeleys, in the *Church Historians of England.*

[2] Foxe, vii., 611.

[3] Foxe, vii., 613.

[4] Foxe, vii., 620-647.

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keeper, he was left all day, returning at night conducted by three or four into the Coal House. Philpot's tenth examination takes place in my Lord's upper-hall; his twelfth in the chapel (he has previously been, "fet down to the Wardrobe adjoining" thereunto); on the 13th and 14th of December, he is examined in the consistory at S. Paul's.[1]

In a note to these passages[2] the editor of the octavo edition of Foxe observes that "the Coal House was at the back of the Palace in Paternoster Row, near the alley which passes from thence to S. Paul's Churchyard," the Palace itself standing "at the north-west corner of the church-yard, the present site of London House Yard," and extending itself to the walls of the old Cathedral.

John Whittle writes "from the Coal House, this 4th of December," 1556, to his "dear Friend and Brother John Went and other his Prison-fellows in Lollards' Tower."[3] Whittle was "a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal," and was burnt in the year above named.[4]

Archdeacon Philpot complains of the gloom of his prison[5] to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, who thus deals with him, if Foxe is to be credited:—

"*London:* By my faith, thou art too well handled. Thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

"*Philpot:* If to lie in a blind Coal House may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle,[6] then may it be said, I am

[1] Foxe, vii., 654–667–677.
[2] Foxe vii, 725.
[3] Foxe vii, 724, 725.
[4] Archdeacon Philpot's *Examination*, 13.
[5] Philpot, *Examination*, 70.
[6] It is the 19th of November.

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well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

"*London:* Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master Chancellor, in good faith, I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what! the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

"*Philpot:* My lord, we have no such resort to us as your lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our Coal House, that I wot of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark."

"*London:* Nay, now you think, because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

"*Philpot:* My lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

The Chancellor (that is, I suppose, Thomas Gresham, Chancellor of Lichfield)[1] tries to moderate the tone of the discussion. He cries:—

"Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

The editor[2] of *Liturgical Services, Elizabeth*, for the Parker Society, is disposed to think that in the *Liber Precum Publicarum* of 1560, there may be an attempt to represent Bishop Bonner's Coal Hole. In the initial P of the first word (*Pater*) of the Latin

[1] This conversation takes place 19th November, 1555: the Archdeacon was martyred 18th December in the same year. See *Examinations*, 161.

[2] The Rev. W. Keatinge Clay, *Liturgical Services, Elizabeth*, 339 *note*, and 352 *note*.

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Litany is depicted "a traveller seemingly giving a letter to a man chained by the legs, and sitting in front of a hole, arched and dark." And in the initial P, in the collect for Septuagesima Sunday (the first word is *Preces*) is represented "a traveller in the act of receiving a letter from a venerable looking man through the bars of a cell in which he is confined."

John Fetty is sent to the Lollards' Tower, "where he was put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it: to what purpose God knoweth," says Foxe, "except it were to show that he should look for little other sustenance." One of Fetty's children, "a boy of the age of eight or nine years, came unto the Bishop's House," Bonner was then Bishop, "to see if he could get leave to speak with his father." A chaplain asks him, *who was his father.* "The boy then told him, and, pointing towards Lollards' Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison. *Why*, quoth the priest, *thy father is a heretic.* The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, *My father is no Heretique; but, you are an Heretique, for you have Balaam's mark.* Whereupon the priest "took the child by the hand, and carried him into the Bishop's House (whether to the Bishop or not, I know not,[1] but like enough he did) and there amongst them, they did most shamefully and without all pity, so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore-

[1] Foxe, viii, 512. The admirable charity of suggesting that the whipping took place in the Bishop's presence will not be lost upon the reader. A.D. 1588.

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blood," and so sent him to his father. "Within fourteen days the child died, whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity, I know not."

Whether the following story[1] relates to London or to Fulham cannot be certainly determined, but if its contiguity to the last recorded incident can help to a decision, it occurred at London. It is unnecessary to give all the details, but Bonner takes "James Harris, of Billericay, in Essex, a stripling of the age of seventeen years," into his garden, "and there, with a rod, gathered out of a cherry tree, did most cruelly whip him." Foxe records many a similar deed on the part of Bishop Bonner. Those, however, who like to see both sides of a question will read, together with Foxe, Dr. Maitland's *Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England*, and especially *Essay* xx, entitled *Bonner's Cruelty*. But this enquiry would lead me far away from the subject of the present paper. It will suffice to quote the words in which that eminent historian, Mr. J. S. Brewer,[2] has recorded his estimate of the author of the *Acts and Monuments*. "Had Foxe, the martyrologist, been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents which came into his hands, and freely indulged in the very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents."

The mention of the cherry tree in the gardens of the Palace, reminds one of Ely House in Holborn,

[1] Foxe, viii, 525, 526.

[2] *The reign of Henry VIII, from his accession to the death of Wolsey.* By J. S. Brewer, edited by James Gairdner. Octavo. Lond., 1884, I. 52. *Note.*

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and its strawberries. The Duke of Gloucester says:—

> "My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
> I do beseech you send for some of them."

To whom John Morton, Bishop of Ely, makes reply:—

> "Marry, and will, my Lord, with all my heart."[1]

Fair gardens were these. Bishop Cox, of Ely, when compelled to lease the garden and orchard, reserved to himself and to his successors the right of walking therein and of gathering twenty bushels of roses yearly.

Probably the Bishop of London's gardens had their rose trees, too. Does "Rose Street," hard by, still embalm their fragrant memory?[2]

In 1329, a fruiterer gathering nuts in the Court of the Bishop of London's Palace, fell from the tree and was killed. The King's Coroner held an inquest on him in the Bishop's Hall, contrary to the immunities of the Church. Here is the original record:—

> "Quidam fructuarius, colligens nuces de arbore in curia Episcopi Londoniensis juxta ecclesiam Sancti Pauli, cecidit . . . Coronator regis super inquisitione sedebat in aula Episcopi."[3]

In 1324 a stag came *de foresta de Wolm Holte*, and was captured in Shoe Lane.[4]

Thomas Green is sent to the Lollards' Tower.[5] He has had in his possession a book entitled *Antichrist*.[6] He had been in custody but two hours when he is

[1] *Richard III.* Act iii., sc. 4.

[2] The suggestion is Mr. H. W. Brewer's. "Ivy Lane," he thinks, may also preserve similar recollections of the gardens.

[3] Bishop Stubbs. *Chronicles Edward I and II*, Vol. 1, p. xcvi.

[4] ib. i. 307.

[5] Foxe, viii, 521–524. A.D. 1558.

[6] See note in Foxe, viii, 786.

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carried to another prison, the Coal House, in the Bishop's Palace. "There," says he, "I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks." Cluney, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, takes the Frenchman away, and, says Green, he "put on my right leg a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and there I lay a day and a night." After an imprisonment of some duration, Dr. Story "sent for me again, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more." He was sent back to the Coal House, but before he had been there a week fourteen prisoners were sent in, and he himself was transferred to "a prison called the Salt House; having upon my leg," he adds, "a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on but bare stones or a board. On a time, while I lay there in prison, the Bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the back side, untrussed, in his hose and doublet, looked in at the grate, and asked *wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.*" After this short interview, he is "kept in the stocks more than a month, both day and night, and no man," as he laments, "to come to me, or speak with me, but only my keeper, which brought me meat." Bad as were the Bishop's prisons, "the stinking dungel" at Christ's Hospital, sometime the Grey Friars, seems to have been worse. Here he suffered scourging. "The two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the other end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed

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something to pacify the mind of his [Dr. Story's] cruelty: and so they scourged me with rods." They then "bade me pay my fees, and go my ways."

It will be understood that I am citing this passage solely for the purpose of illustrating the buildings of the Palace, for which purpose it is of considerable utility. It introduces us to the garden of the Palace, and to two prisons within the precincts of the Palace, severally called the Coal House, and the Salt House, the former capacious enough, it would appear, to hold fourteen prisoners.

The prisons still existing at Lambeth Palace in the Water Tower (mis-called the Lollards' Tower), and in the noble entrance gateway, called Morton's Tower, will give us, no doubt, some idea of these places of "little ease" at the Palace near S. Paul's.

The famous prison in the Water Tower is (I take Dr. Ducarel's measurements)[1] about twelve feet long by nine feet broad. "In it are eight large iron rings fastened to the wainscot which lines the walls, in this order: three rings on the south side, four on the west side, and one on the north side. The wainscot is of oak above an inch; and the ceiling also is of oak. It has a small chimney on the north part; upon the sides are various scratches, half sentences, and letters, cut out with a knife by some of the unhappy persons who are supposed to have been confined here." But a dungeon demands a more picturesque description; let us hear that delightful guide, Mr. J. R. Green.[2]

[1] Dr. Ducarel. *History and Antiquities of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth.* 45.

[2] J. R. Green. *Stray Studies: Lambeth and the Archbishops.* 121. (The prison is lighted by two small windows, one on the western side, the other on the north. The entrance is at the S.E. angle.)

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"The massive oaken door, the iron rings bolted into the wall, the one narrow window looking out over the river, tell their tale as well as the broken sentences scratched or carved around. Some are mere names; here and there some light-pated youngster paying for his night's uproar has carved his dice, or his

JESUS KEP ME OUT OF ALL IL COMPANE. AMEN.

But

JESUS EST AMOR MEUS

is sacred; whether Lollard or Jesuit graved it in the lonely prison hours; and not less sacred the

DEO SIT GRATIARUM ACTIO

that marks, perhaps, the leap of a martyr's heart at the news of the near advent of his fiery deliverance." To which might well have been added the inscription

NOSCE TE IPS'M,

so appropriate in the enforced quiet of the prison.

The spiral stair leading from the *Post Room* to the prison is of wood.

"A massive oaken spar, rising in two lengths about 40 feet, forms the upright support of some sixty wooden steps. These steps were formerly of massive oak, as the under-boarding of the stairs testifies, remaining in its primitive simplicity and original material, rough outside planks of oak, with portions of the dried bark still visible upon them. No sign of the plane is here, but the woodman's auger holes may be seen, where bolts were driven in to serve as steps for scaling the tree, preparatory to its being fitted, and where the wooden stairs cease, a narrow doorway leads to a small stone newel-stair, rising up a few steps in a *tourelle* of a quaint and picturesque character, built on and projecting beyond the solid wall."[1]

Down such a stair we may well imagine Bishop Bonner walking, and passing by the grating of the

[1] Rev. J. Cave-Brown. *Lambeth Palace and its Associations.* 200.

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Salt House, exchanging a few words with Thomas Green.[1]

In the grand Gateway Tower at Lambeth, on the right and on the left, are also places of detention for prisoners, with large iron rings still bolted into the walls.

"The extreme thickness of the walls, the massive double doors, the small windows with their iron bars, the heavy rings still remaining fixed in the walls, the names still legible on the sides, proclaim this to have been one of the prisons for the refractory, or the recusant. And here are traces of a custom, now emphatically condemned as un-English. Where the present entrance into this inner chamber has been cut through, the wall was originally only a single brick in thickness, so that anyone sitting in the recess thus formed in the outer face of the wall could overhear the conversations of the prisoners within, who, wholly unconscious that there were eavesdroppers on the other side of a thin partition, may have often sealed their own fate, or involved that of others, by unguarded conversations with their fellow prisoners."[2]

The Bishop of London's guards were not always very watchful, or, possibly, were not always very eager to retain their prisoners. One Dabney, a painter, had been sent up to be examined by Bishop Bonner, and whilst he was waiting for his dangerous interview, "suddenly word cometh to the Bishop to prepare him in all speed, the general procession tarried for him." Bonner hastened to "furnish the procession," he "buscleth himself," as Foxe[3] says, and Dabney, left alone,

"cometh down to the outward court next the gate, there, walking with himself, all heavy, looking for nothing less than to escape that

[1] See *supra*.
[2] Cave-Browne, *Lambeth Palace*, 36.
[3] In the edition of 1563; later editions read *busleth*. Foxe, viii, 551–789.

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danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man to walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen there left behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. '*Yea*,' said he, '*with a good will, if ye will let me out?*' '*With all my heart*,' quoth the porter, '*and I pray you so do.*' and thus the said Dabney, taking the occasion offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth."

And so, in like manner, did Edward Benet. He had been summoned with five other prisoners to hear mass in the Bishop's chapel.

"The mass being done, and they coming out, five of them went to prison, and were after burnt. Benet being behind, and coming toward the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. 'No,' said they. Benet, standing in open sight before him, with other serving men, which were there by reason that Bonner made many priests that day (having one of his sleeves and half the forepart of his coat burnt off in the prison, being more like a prisoner than any of the others) when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped."[1]

The punishment of the stocks, though very common, must have been extremely severe in many cases. One Thomas Rose, said to have been privy to the burning of the Rood of Dovercourt, was imprisoned in the house of Bishop Longland (of Lincoln) in Holborn, and

"was very sore stocked. The stocks were very high and great, so that, day and night, he did lie with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that by means the blood was fallen from his feet, his feet were almost without sense for a long time: and he herewith waxed very sick, insomuch that his keeper, pitying his estate, and hearing him cry sometimes through the extremity of pain, went to the Bishop and told him that he would not keep him

[1] Foxe, viii, 561, 562. These incidents occurred in 1558.

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to die under his hand; and upon this he had some more ease and liberty."[1]

Here is a still more tragical incident :—

"The 25th of May, 1570, in the morning was found hanging at the Bishop of London's pallace gate in Paules Churchyard, a bull, which lately had been sent from Rome, containing diuers horrible treasons against the Queenes Maiestie, for the which one *Iohn Felton* was shortly after apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

"The fourth of August was arraigned at Guildhall of London, *Iohn Felton*, for hanging a bull at the gate of the Bishop of Londons pallace, and also two young men for coyning and clipping of coyne, who all were found guilty of high treason, and had iugement to be drawne, hanged, and quartred.

"The eight of August, *Iohn Felton* was drawne from Newgate into Paules Churchyard, and there hanged on a gallowes new set vp that morning before the Bishoppes palace gate, and being cut downe alive, he was bowelled and quartered."[2]

In this bull the Pope deprived Elizabeth "of all title to her kingdoms, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and charged them not to obey her upon pain of his curse and excommunication."[3] The bull stirred up the strongest feeling amongst the loyal English people. Bishop Jewel dealt with it very fully in

A View of a seditious Bull sent into *England* from *Pius Quintus*, Bishop of *Rome*, 1569. Taken by the reuerend Father in God, Iohn Iewel, late Bishop of *Sarisburie*. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the holy scriptures, both which he delivered in divers sermons in his Cathedrall Church of Sarisburie, 1570.[4]

Bishop Cox of Ely, and Bishop Horn of Winchester, write upon the subject to Henry Bullinger, "a wise

[1] Foxe, viii, 582. [2] Stow, *Annales*, 1631, 667.
[3] Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I, ii, 354.
[4] Printed by John Norton, London, 1611. Reprinted in Jewel's Works, Parker Society, iv. 1127, &c. The Bull itself is printed, pp. 1131–2.

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and grave divine, chief minister of Zurich," as Strype calls him, who undertook the task of confuting the Bull.

Dean Milman quotes the title of a Tract, edited by Mr. Henry Huth, for the *Philobiblon Society*.

"A disclosing of the Great Bull, and certain calves that he hath gotten, and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Byshoppe's gate."

The Dean speaks, in his graphic way, of the wild uproar at the Palace gates.

"The population of London were reading (if it was in Latin, there would be interpreters enough) a great placard, with the Papal Arms and signature, the Bull which Pius V. had launched against Queen Elizabeth. Imagine the indignant rage of some, the shuddering dismay of others (if there were any who felt joy in their hearts they would not betray it in their countenances), the frank loyalty of the masses, even of the Puritans, who, if their ardent love and reverence for the Queen was somewhat cooled, would only be more fiercely maddened by their hatred of the Pope. The tumult and uproar may be gathered from the ballads of the day, and the broadsheet literature, which was every where scattered abroad, read, sung, applauded to the highest, by the furious multitude. Here is a stanza from one; pages might be filled with them:—

A Pope was wont to be an odious name
  Within our land, and scrapt out of our scrowles;
And now the Pope is come so far past shame,
  That he can walk with open face at Poules.
Go home, mad Bull, to Rome, and pardon soules,
  That pine away in Purgatorie payne.
Go, triumph there, where credit most remains;
  Thy daie is out in England long ago.
For Ridley gave the Bull so great a blow,
  He never durst apeach this land till now.

"The intrepid fanatic who had done the deed, and, in defiance of the law and the popular feeling, had nailed the Bull to the Bishop's

[1] Zurich *Letters*. I. 221, 254. July 10, 1570, August 3, 1571.

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gates, seems almost to have disdained flight or concealment. He was apprehended, tried, condemned: and, if Bishop Sandys had looked from his windows on the morning of August 8 (we trust that he had retired to Fulham), he would have seen the body of John Felton, hanging on a gallows erected at his gates, amid the execrations of the citizens of London, and the silent and suppressed commiseration, even perhaps the admiration, of a few, by some of whom he was dignified by the much misused name of martyr."[1]

Apropos of Felton's miserable end, Mr. Wheatley,[2] quotes a few lines from *a Pithy Note to Papists*, published on August 23rd. The execution took place on August 8, 1570.

Then was he hanged up a while
  In what a cace God knowes:
Such as have judgement in the act—
  I leave the end to those.
Cut down he was and lived again,
  But after spake not much,
For why? the Executioner served
  Him such a Traitor's tuch.

III.—THE BISHOP'S PALACE, NEAR S. PAUL'S.

ITS LATER HISTORY.

LONDON HOUSE, ALDERSGATE STREET.

It is difficult to trace the later history of the Palace, as the statements found in the usual books of reference are very vague and contradictory, and as authentic sources of information are few and far between.

It would appear, however, that by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Bishop of London had

[1] Dean Milman. *Annals of S. Paul's.* Second edition, 291–293. The verses are taken from Mr. Huth's volume.

[2] *London Past and Present.*

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ceased to reside within the Cathedral precinct, for I find in one of the Harleian manuscripts [1] a copy of an indenture executed by Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London in 1556,[2] in which he conveys to one Thomas Darbieshire—

"The messuage or tenemente called the oulde Pallace, sett, lienge, and beinge in the churche yarde of the cathedrall churche of S. Paule, in the parishe of S. Gregorie within the Citie of London, together with all houses, sellers, sollers, chambers, and gardens, with other rights, commodities, and appertenaunces therevnto belonginge . . . . vnto thende and terme of three skore and one yeres."

The lease contains the usual conditions as to repairs, right of re-entry, and so forth: and the consideration is "the old accustomed yerlie rent of seaven marks."

Bonner, it will be remembered, was restored to his bishopric in 1553, displaced again 30th May, 1559, and died in the Marshalsea prison on the 5th September of the same year.[3]

Another *Harleian Manuscript* [4] contains a lengthy record of matters in dispute between Archbishop Bancroft, who was translated from London to Canterbury 10th December, 1604, and his successor in the see of London, Bishop Richard Vaughan, who was translated from Chester, and installed in S. Paul's 24th December in the same year. The question of dilapidations is always a somewhat delicate and

Harleian MS., No. 2296.

[2] It is dated 2nd June, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary. See the Harleian Manuscript, fo. 136 *b*.

[3] In 1573, an answere to a Popishe and slaunderous Libell, by D. Fulk, was "Imprinted at London by William Jones, dwellyng in Paules Churche Yearde, at the South-west dore of Paules, and are to be sold at his new long shop, neere to the Bishops Pallace."

[4] Harleian MS., No. 589. folios 294, &c.

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difficult matter, and in this instance, as in many others, the two parties were by no means agreed. The manuscript gives—

"The L. Arch. B. of Cant., his defence vnto the particularities of the decaies set downe by the B. of London,"

together with the Bishop of London's replies thereto.

These "decaies" were found in the Bishop's Palace at Fulham, the Palace near S. Paul's, and elsewhere. We are concerned only with some of the complaints relating to the Palace adjacent to the Cathedral.

It is admitted that the Palace is decayed: but the Archbishop had spent upon it, during his incumbency (1597–1604), no less than cxlvij^{li} ij^{s} ij$^{d.}$

The house or part of it had been let to one Gibbes, and after that to Willet.

Bishop Vaughan complains of the condition of the roof of the Great Hall. But the Archbishop replies that "The lead in the great Halle at London, charged in my L. of London's schedule at ccxli^{li} might have been repaired for iij^{li} by yere:" and witnesses are called to support this view of the case. Whereupon the Bishop rejoins that "The witnesses doe not prove that they are here vouched for, only they say this, that if the leade worke were once well repaired, it might afterwards bee kept in good reparacon for iij or iiij^{li} per annum."

And so the discussion proceeds as keenly as if between secular persons, rather than between high spiritual persons.

Meanwhile all that remains to us of living interest is the fact that the Great Hall deserved its name, if

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the repairs to the lead roof could be fairly estimated at £241, a considerable sum in 1604.

A manuscript preserved in the Cathedral[1] enables us to take up the history at a later point, and, curiously enough, the lead roof comes prominently forward.

"*Coysh:* Whereas, Richard Coysh, haueinge heretofore contract wth vs the Contractors for the p'chase of a p'cell of ground belonginge to the late Bp̄s of Londons Pallace in London, and for the lead and other materialls vpon the same, p'te of wch leade lyinge loose vpon the ground the surveyors haue since disposed of, as the said Mr. Coish did nowe informe vs, And turne noe reprisall of the lead soe disposed of out of the totall value of the lead by him contracted ffor, and the said Mr. Coysh did therevpon praye vs to allowe of as a good cause for his excuse in not p'secuting and A'fecting his conveyance w^th^in eight weekes lymited by ordinance of the 25th of September Last. W^ch^ wee doe nowe approve and allowe of as a good cause ffor his delay in the premisses, Hee the said Richard Coysh presenteing his conveyance to be p'fected w^th^in one monthe next after the reprisall of the valewe of the lead aforesaid shalbe asscertained by the surveyors of the p'misses. Witnes our hands this 26th No. 1647.

Will. Roberts	Ty. Midleton
Tho. Ayres	Edw. Cressett
Robt Ffenwick	Rich. Turner."

A week previously, 19th November, 1647, a similar plea had been urged and accepted by John Bellamy and Henry Waller "on behalfe of the Company of Stac̃oners ffor p'te of the late Bp̄s Londons Garden, lyinge nexte Ave Mary Lane." "The multiplicity of buisiness" had caused the matter to lie in the hands of the "Deputy Register and other clarkes employed in the seu'rall offices, through wch the purchasor is to passe by way of p'parac̃on to his conveyance."

On the 13th March, 1648. "Captain Richard Coysh" has still further time allowed him to com-

[1] Press Mark, W. D. 51.

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plete the matter: and on 14th March, 1650, Richard Coysh is described as "purchaser of the midle parte, of the late Bishop of London's Pallace;" "the said reprize amounts to the grosse some" of £72.

The Calendar of State Papers adds some interesting particulars in relation to this Robert Coysh, who seems to have been actuated by the best motives throughout the transaction.

"Narrative of the purchasing and disposal of part of London House, the Palace of the late Bishop of London, by the late Rich. Coysh, citizen and skinner, of London. That on the debate about raising money for arrears of the Scots' Army, Coysh did his utmost to prevent Bishops' lands being sold, that they might be employed for uses of piety and charity, but being over-ruled, he, in 1647, bought part of London House, viz.: the Gate House, great Hall, Parlour with lobby, servants' dining room and kitchen—all ruinous, having been latterly used as a prison—and several yards. For these he gave £817 13*s.* 4*d.*, and for the ground on which they stood £1,201 1*s.* 6*d.*, at 13 years' purchase. He pulled it down, built 15 new houses, and let or sold the rest of the ground, setting aside £84 a year for charities, viz.: £42 for a Lectureship at S. Gregory's Church, £8 and £16 for the poor of London, £10 for exhibitions for poor scholars at the University, and £8 for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England. He died in January, 1652, and by will he left ⅓ of the rest of the purchase to his widow, and ⅔ to his son Elisha, who has settled it on his wife. [*Printed Broadside*, 1654 ?][1]

The same Calendar[2] adds further particulars:

"1654, June 14. Petition of John Ireton, alderman, and John Humfrey, citizen of London, to the Protector. In 1644 we laid out £90 towards making London House a prison, and had, therefor, an old stable, on which we spent £286 to make it a warehouse; but

[1] *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic.* 1654, p. 432.
[2] *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic.* 1654, p. 209.

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on the Act for Sale of Bishops' Lands it was valued at £30 a year, and we had to buy it at 12 years' purchase, though before it was only worth £3 a year. The contractors for sale could not relieve us, but the Committee for Obstructions drew up a Report to be presented to Parliament, which we beg may be confirmed, and the premises conveyed to us on paying the remainder of the purchase-money. With order thereon that the contractors pass the conveyance, or certify, 30th January, 1653-4, and reference to Council, 3rd May, 1654."[1]

Eight years elapse, and we are again able to take up the history of the Palace from a most authentic source: a private Act of Parliament, still in manuscript, of which I have obtained a transcript. Here is an abstract of the document:

"An Act to enable the Bishop of London to lease out the tenements new built vpon the scite of his palace in London. No. 40. 14 Car. ii.[2]

"Whereas the Pallace late belonging to the Bishopp of London, hath dureing the time of the late troubles beene destroyed, and diverse small tenements, shopps, warehouses, and other edifices have beene built on the ground where the said Palace stood, and the Courts and yards therevnto belonging, soe that the same is now totally vnfitt for the habitation of the said Bishopp of London or his successors: And the right reverend father in God, Gilbert, now Lord Bishopp of London,[3] is willing that out of the fines which may bee raised by leaseing of the said tenements, shopps, warehouses, edifices, ground, and yards, a convenient house for the habitation of the said Bishopp and his successors shall be purchased."

Hereupon the King, and the Houses of Lords and Commons, grant license to the said Bishop

[1] Annexed 21, ii. Copy of parcel of the survey of the part alluded to of the Bishop of London's Palace. [3½ sheets].

[2] From the original, a Private Act, in manuscript: in the Parliament Office of the House of Lords.

[3] Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, 1660-1663; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1663-1667. He was succeeded in the See of London by Humfrey Henchman.

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to demise or lease the said property, "not being within eighteene foote of the Cathedral Church of S. Paul . . . for the terme of three lives or vnder, or for the terme of forty yeares or fewer." A hundred pounds yearly rent, at the least, is to be reserved. The Bishop is to give security

"to expend before the first of May wch shalbe in the yeare of our Lord 1665, fiue thousand pounds at the least in the building, or purchaseing, and, makeing convenient a house for the habitation of the said Bishop and his successors, which house soe to bee built or purchased shall for ever hereafter be deemed, reputed, and taken to bee, and shall bee the Pallace of the Bishop of London and his successors, and shall bee called or knowne by the name of London House."

The Estate so to be purchased must not exceed ten acres in extent, and must be situate within the Cities of London or Westminster, or the suburbs thereof in the Diocese of London.

The date of this Act is 14 Charles II. The day of the month not being given, we cannot date it with absolute precision; but, 1662 will be sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

From S. Paul's Churchyard the Bishops of London removed to Aldersgate Street.

Although, as Seymour[1] said of that street in 1736, "the politeness of the town is far removed from hence," it was at one time the abode of nobles of high degree. The Earls of Thanet dwelt in Thanet House, a mansion built by Inigo Jones, afterwards known as Shaftesbury House, as the residence of the Earls of Shaftesbury. Lauderdale House, Westmoreland Buildings, Petre House, were the town houses of the

[1] Seymour's *Survey*, quoted in Wheatley's *London Past and Present*.

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Dukes of Lauderdale, the Earls of Westmoreland, and Lord Petre.

Peter Cunningham, in his *Handbook of London* (I quote from the edition of 1850) says, that "London House, S. Paul's Churchyard, the inn or town House of the Bishops of London, was pulled down and built into tenements about the year 1650," and he gives as his authority for the statement a reference to a work entitled *A Discovery showing the great Advantages of New Building* (p. 11, quarto, 1678). I have not been able to find this work in the British Museum, even with the help of one of the Assistant Librarians, a well known expert in topographical literature, and I observe that the passage is omitted in Mr. Wheatley's comprehensive book.

In another part of the *Handbook*, Mr. Cunningham goes on to say that London House, Aldersgate Street, was "bought by the See of London when the Great Fire had destroyed the Episcopal Residence, S. Paul's Churchyard." It is not quite easy to see how the two statements can be reconciled.

As to the New Palace in Aldersgate Street, a good deal of information is to be obtained by searching through the various histories of London, though it must be admitted that they copy one another, generally without acknowledgment, in the most remorseless manner.

Malcolm,[1] writing in 1805, says:—

"London House is represented in the old maps as situated on the west side [of Aldersgate Street], with the fronts north and south, and a gable only to Aldersgate Street, in an irregular court. The site

[1] Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, ii. 544.

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was first known by the name of Dorchester Place,[1] afterwards Petre House, from those noble families having resided there. Subsequent to the Reformation,[2] it was purchased for the Palace of the See of London, and immediately received the name of London House; but, whether the prelates who inhabited it re-built the mansion, or made any additions, is not mentioned; though I have seen it described as a large brick building, with a neat chapel."

Hughson[3] says that the noble family of Petre resided in London House till 1639, and he adds

"how the house was disposed of from this period has not yet been ascertained, but, in 1657, it was found to belong to Henry Pierpoint, Marquis of Dorchester, who, dying without issue, and the great fire having demolished the palace of the Bishop of London, near S. Paul's Cathedral, the house was purchased for a town residence, but only inhabited by one Prelate, Bishop Henchman, who died there in 1675, and was buried at Fulham."

This paragraph, however, contains inaccuracies, which will be rectified later on.

Further information is to be procured from Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, where we find "A Plan of London House, now in the possession of Mr. Jacob Ilive, December, 1747;" with the following particulars:—

"It is situate on the west side of Aldersgate Street, in the Parish of S. Botolph. (It was formerly belonging to Lord Petre, but revolving[4] to the Crown, king Charles II gave it to the Bishop of London). This house and garden was bounded by the Priory Wall of S. Bartholomew's the Great, which wall encompassed the garden

[1] "The seat of the late Marquis of Dorchester." Stow. i, 622.

[2] Probably an error for *the Restoration*.

[3] *London*, &c., by David Hughson, LL.D., Octavo. London, 1806, vol. iii., 368–9.

[4] Probably we should read *devolving*. As regards the alleged gift, see *infra*, p. 53. Lord Petre died a prisoner in the Tower in 1684. Lingard, *History*, x., 47.

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and house as appears by the plan. When the Priory was dissolv'd in Henry VIII's time, Lord Petre built the Infirmary, now the Garden House, on the ruins and foundation of the Priory Wall, and it, therefore, belongs to the Parish of S. Bartholomew the Great. This is likewise the case of the Audit House, which is also built on the Priory Wall."

The plan it appears was

"Printed, in order to determine what part of this house is in the Ward of Aldersgate, Parish of S. Botolph, and what part is in the Ward of Farringdon Without, Parish of S. Bartholomew the Great. It stands on near two acres, or 14,256 feet square."

The scale of the Plan is somewhat small, and the measurements here deduced from it are consequently rough approximations only; but yet some idea may be formed of the dimensions of the House and its appurtenances.

The great gate and porch were in Aldersgate Street, with a frontage of about 120 feet, the façade being adorned by a row of nine columns.

The house itself stood upon a plot of ground some 90 feet by 42, enclosing a spacious court.

Behind the house was the chapel, standing north and south, measuring 85 feet by 30.

The garden, an irregular plot of ground, measured 122 feet on the north, 55 on the south, 160 on the east, 130 on the west. Within the garden stood the chapel, and a "lofty elm" is also marked upon the plan.

West of the garden the "Infirmary, now the garden house," 50 feet by 20; north of the garden, the "audit house," a long, narrow building, 65 feet by 15, between which and the garden ran "the passage into Bartholomew Close." East of the garden "the Piazza

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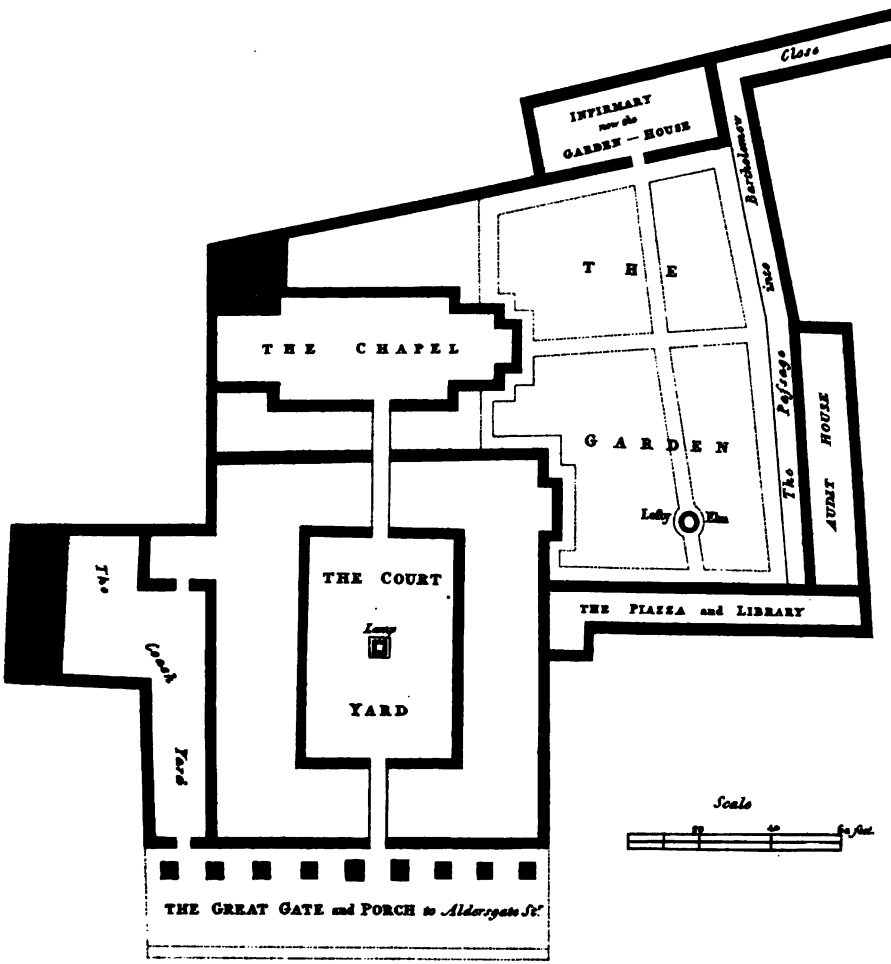

A PLAN OF
LONDON HOUSE, ALDERSGATE STREET.

From Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata."

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and Library," a narrow gallery, 82 feet by 10. And south of the house the coach yard.

The dimensions have been given in so much detail because they supply a definite idea of the ground plan of the town house of a great nobleman in the seventeenth century. The house is seen in a bird's eye view in the plan of Aldersgate Ward in Stow's *Survey*, but on too small a scale to give a clear notion of its proportions.

To this house fled the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen, from the Palace at Whitehall: as Lingard relates.[1]

"Anne, the moment she heard of the evasion of her husband,[2] sent for the Bishop of London, to arrange with him a plan for her own escape. After the family had retired to rest, she left her bed-chamber, with Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley, descended a back staircase, which had recently been put up for that very purpose, and found waiting at the gate a carriage, in which were the Bishop[3] and the Earl of Dorset. She passed the night in the Prelate's house, in Aldersgate Street, hastened in the morning to Copt Hall, the seat of the Earl, and proceeded thence to a meeting of the prince's adherents, at Northampton."

The shock of her departure quite unnerved the king, her father, James II, who, on receipt of the intelligence, burst into tears and exclaimed: "God help me: my very children have forsaken me." During two or three following days those who were about his person observed occasional aberrations of intellect.

Here dwelt Bishop Compton; here, in 1673, dwelt Bishop Henchman, who re-built the house, says Dean

[1] Lingard. *History of England*, x., 174.
[2] Prince George of Denmark, 1688.
[3] Bishop Compton.

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Milman,[1] at his own cost; and here, in 1720, dwelt Bishop Robinson.

Perhaps a few particulars of these Prelates may be here added.

"Humphrey Henchman, Lord Bishop of London, departed this life at his house in Aldersgate Street, London, on the seventh day of October, and lies buried in the south isle of Fulham Church, under a black marble stone, 13 ejusdem, 1675."[2]

When Prebendary of Salisbury he was instrumental in effecting the escape of Charles II, after the Battle of Worcester, when that monarch was travelling disguised in Wiltshire.

"He was, for his Wisdom and Prudence, much valu'd by King *Charles* II whose happy escape, after the battle at *Worcester*, this pious Prelate did admirably well manage, especially when his Majesty came in a disguise near *Salisbury*.

"He built the Chappel in the Bishops' Palace, in *Aldersgate Street*, now call'd *London House*."[3]

In the last statement, Newcourt is supported by Godwin,[4] who says of the good Bishop:

"In Palatio Episcopali in vico vocato Aldersgate prope Londinum sacellum nitidum[5] satis et decorum exædificavit."

It is not a little remarkable that at the time of the Restoration Henry Compton had been a cornet of horse.

"He entered into Holy Orders soon after that date, but in 1688, when he was a Bishop of fourteen years' standing, the excitement of the Revolution, and the danger of his pupil, the Princess Anne, so

[1] *Annals*, second edition, 385.
[2] Lyson's *Environs*, vol ii., part i, pp, 248-249.
[3] Newcourt. *Repertorium* i., 32.
[4] Godwin. *De Præsulibus*, 198; edited by Richardson, 1743.
[5] Was Malcolm thinking of the phrase when he calls the building "a neat chapel."

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roused the soldier in him, that he resumed his military dress, and, with sword and pistols by his side, escorted his charge to Northampton. 'In a little time' adds Burnet, 'a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London, of which he too easily accepted.' "[1]

"It is rather curious that the last English Bishop who appeared in arms and took the command of troops should have been succeeded by the last Bishop who in England has held a high diplomatic appointment, and been, in a specific and individual capacity, a chief officer of state."[2]

"Dr. John Robinson was bred a clergyman, and had a living in the north of England, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hull. His patron being sent with the character of President to the Court of Sweden, he accompanied him in the quality of Chaplain and Secretary: and upon his being recalled or removed, he succeeded him, first with the character only of Secretary-resident, but afterwards of Resident in which he lived so long at that Court that it could not be supposed any one understood the affairs of that kingdom better, which enabled him to write an *Account of Sweden*, a work justly esteemed. He followed the camp of Charles XII, and as he always supported the character so becoming his cloth (though he had for the time exchanged it for the sword) of being very grave and sober; and besides of being a man of solid sense; so on the other hand, he was always very vigilant and careful of the interest of his Sovereign; and he was at this time, 1707, in that extraordinary Prince's army, with the character of Envoy-extraordinary. Sometime afterwards he resided in Hamburgh in the same character, with the addition of Plenipotentiary."

"He then took the gown again, and had, as a reward for his labours, the Bishopric of Bristol bestowed upon him; was of the Queen's Privy Council, Privy Seal, and first Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Utrecht; and lastly, was translated to the See of London,[3] in which he died.[4]

The splenetic Oldmixon has been very severe upon the pomp and retinue with which Dr. Robinson

[1] Abbey. *The English Church and its Bishops.*, l., 107. [2] ib., i. 108, 109.

[3] The exact dates are these. Robinson, Dean of Windsor, was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, 19th November, 1710; translated to London, in which see he was confirmed 13th March, 1714. He died at Hampstead 11th April, 1723, *ætat.* 73. [4] Quoted in Lediard's *Life of Marlborough*, i, 406.

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appeared at the Utrecht Congress. He says they consisted of—

"One coach with eight horses, and five with six horses, four pages, and twelve footmen in liveries; with an appointment of 9,000 ounces of plate, half of which was gilt: and a black velvet gown richly covered with gold loops, having a long train, to be borne up by two pages in ash-coloured coats, with silver orvaces,[1] and green velvet waistcoats. This pompous account," he continues, "is no more suitable to the pastor of a Christian Church, than it would be if he had been made Master of the Ceremonies. But neither this consideration, nor the care of two flocks of his as Dean of Windsor and Bishop of Bristol, could keep this Prelate at home," p. 483.

Three of Dr. Robinson's letters (two from Dantzig, dated January 23 and September, 1706, and one from Leipzig, dated December 18, in the same year) are printed in Rebecca Warner's *Epistolary Curiosities.*[2] In the last of these letters he describes a visit of His Majesty the King of Sweden to the house of Count Piper, Minister of Charles XII; he came thither, he says, "in great haste, and made but two steps of a pair of stairs of twelve."

"The House," says Malcolm,[3] "was deserted as the Episcopal Residence so early as 1725."

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. J. Ellis, I am able to give the following extract:—

Extract from Lease, dated *25th March, 1720.* Granted by Bishop of London to Nathaniel May of

[1] Not in Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume;* Halliwell; Nares, or Cotgrave.

[2] Printed at Bath in 1818. The letters are numbers cxxx–cxxxii, pages 220–229. The two paragraphs immediately preceding are taken from this volume.

[3] Malcolm. *Londinium Redivivum*, ii., 544.

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London House, Aldersgate Street, within the City of London:—[1]

"All that messuage palace or dwelling house with the Courts yard stables buildings rights members and appurtenances to the same belonging commonly called London House situate and being in Aldersgate Street London. Except and always reserved out of this present Lease unto the said Reverend Father and his successors the Chappell there with the free liberty and use of the same at all times for divine service with free ingress egress and regress to and for him and his Steward Receiver and Servants into and through the said messuage or pallace unto the said Chappell at all times during the term hereby letten (there to search peruse and inspect the Records and evidences belonging to the See of London) and for his and their workmen at convenient times to repair the same and likewise the use of a convenient roome in the said messuage or Pallace for six days between Michaelmas and Christmas in every year yearly during the said term to and for the Officers of the said Reverend Father and his successors to hold and keep the audit of the said Bishoprick there and to receive the rents of the same with good accommodation for the bringing laying in and using for or during the said audit provision of meat drink fewell and other necessaries for the same and like liberty of passing and re-passing to and for the severall tenants of the said Reverend Father and his successors or others concerned in payment of the said rents."

In 1757, Maitland[2] writes:

"It is a very large, commodious, and handsome brick building, with a neat chapel annexed; but has long been deserted by the prelates of this see. It is let out into divers tenements and warehouses."

Entick,[3] writing a few years later, states that:

"Its beauty has been suffered to pass away, and its honourable apartments let out into tenements, and even for warehouses, and more

[1] Ecclesiastical Commission. Document No. 131, 5454.
[2] Maitland, *History*, ii., 764.
[3] Entick, *History*, iii., 341–342. 1766.

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unworthy uses. The same fate has befallen the fine mansion of the Earls of *Westmoreland*, whose remains, a little to the south of *London House*, though now also let out in tenements and to mechanic uses, inform us that it was once not only a capacious, but a beautiful building." On the eastern side of the street stood "'*Shaftesbury House*,'" built with bricks and ornamented with stone, in a most noble and elegant taste, performed by the celebrated Inigo Jones, for the residence of the Earls of Shaftesbury."

In *London and its Environs Described*[1] published in 1761, is given a view of "Shaftesbury House, now the Lying-in Hospital, by Inigo Jones."

Pennant,[2] in a passage abounding with inaccuracies, yet adds a shred or two of information. The house in Aldersgate Street, he says:

"Did not acquire the name of *London House*, till after the destruction of the Old Palace near *S. Paul's*: after which it was probably purchased by the see to supply the loss of the former. It could be inhabited only by one Prelate, Bishop *Henchman*, who died there in 1675, and was buried at Fulham. *London House* has long since been sold under the powers of an Act of Parliament, and the house in *S. James's Square* (the present town-house of the Bishops of *London*), purchased for their use. The last tenant of *London House* was, I think, old Rawlinson, the non-juring titular Bishop of *London*, who rented it. He died about twenty years ago, and left his antiquities to the University of *Oxford*."

I have searched other Histories of London, Brayley and Nightingale, Chamberlain, Harrison, Lambert, Seymour, Skinner, Thornton, but I find nothing worth noting; each copying from his predecessor, and

[1] *London, &c.*, iv., 160.

[2] Thos. Pennant. *Some Account of London.* Fifth Edition. 8vo. London 1813. 329.

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taking great care not to refer to original sources of information.

It seems worth while to add a few particulars about one of the most notable inhabitants of London House, after the Bishops had deserted it.

"Thomas Rawlinson,[1] a man of learning and a patron of it in others, whose great collection of books obtained him the name of *Tom Folio* in the *Tatler*,[2] after he had stuffed four chambers in Gray's Inn so full that his bed was obliged to be removed into the passage, hired apartments at London House, where he died August 6th, 1725, aged 44, and was buried in the adjoining church of S. Botolph. In London House his library was sold after his decease, 1725, by Charles Davis and by Thomas Ballard; and other parts of it at Paul's Coffee House, 1727–8–9–32. In this house also lived and died, 1726, Dr. Richard Rawlinson, his brother, a greater collector."

Rawlinson, it may be said, suffers severely at the hands of Mr. Bickerstaff, who describes him as a mere pedant, intimately acquainted with the title pages of books, but wholly unable to appreciate their contents.

"'I told him,' says Mr. Bickerstaff, 'that Virgil possibly had his oversights as well an an older author.' 'Ah, Mr. Bickerstaff,' says he, 'you would have another opinion of him if you would read him in Daniel Heinsius's edition. I have perused him myself several times in that edition,' continued he 'and after the strictest and most malicious examination, could find but two faults in him; one of them is in the Æneids, where there are two commas instead of a parenthesis; and another in the third Georgic, where you may find a semi-colon

[1] Malcolm. *Londinium Redivivum*, ii, 544.

[2] *Tatler*, No. 158.

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turned upside down.' 'Perhaps,' said I, 'these were not Virgil's faults.'"[1]

In 1747, Malcolm adds, the house "seems to have been in the possession of Jacob Ilive, a crazy printer and religious writer."

In 1749,[2] Parliament granted permission to Bishop Sherlock and his successors, to convey the premises for forty years on a building lease, or to demise or sell the place for the benefit of the see. It was divided into tenements, and Malcolm proceeds to relate that the house was destroyed by fire, and was re-built by Mr. Seddon "on a plan convenient and elegant;" but that "it was burnt a second tine in 1783, when a great number of adjoining buildings were destroyed."

London House had been purchased some years after 1749, by Mr. Seddon, "an eminent upholsterer." After its destruction by fire on July 14th, 1768, it was re-built, and the upholstery business was continued here till a few years back.

"In 1814, was made here at an expense of £500, the cradle for Joanna Southcott's 'Prince of Peace,' with this inscription, 'The Free Offering of Faith to the Promised Seed,' and great crowds flocked to see it. The baby-linen with its laces &c., cost £500 more."[3]

The house was taken down and shops built on the site in 1871.

The abandonment of London House was effected by the authority of an Act of Parliament. Here follows an abstract of it:—

"An Act to enable the Bishop of London or his successors to demise or sell the capital messuage or Mansion

[1] *The Tatler*, No. 158. 13th April, 1710.
[2] See Malcolm; and Hughson, iii., 369.
[3] Wheatley. *London Past and Present.*

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House, called London House, for the benefit of the Bishoprick of London. No. 61. Anno 22°., Georgii II."[1]

The Act recites briefly the substance of the earlier Act of 14, Charles II, already summarised in these pages, by virtue of which the Bishop of London for the time being had received authority to deal with the site of the Old Palace adjacent to S. Paul's Cathedral.

Under the powers of this Act, the Bishop had purchased of William, Lord Petre of Writtle, "the capital messuage or mansion house called Petre House, with all appurtenances" thereof. The indenture of bargain and sale was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery on May 26th, 1662, Gilbert Sheldon being then Bishop of London, and paying for the property the sum of five thousand pounds. Petre House lies within the parishes of S. Botolph Without, Aldersgate, and S. Bartholomew the Great. The purchase includes

"all and singular Room, Cellars, Sollers, Lights, Ways, Easements, Waters, Water-courses, Courts, Yards, Orchards, Gardens, Stables, houses, Edifices, and buildings, thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining, or accepted, reputed, taken, or known, as part and parcel thereof," &c., &c.

The right reverend father in God, Thomas,[2] that is, Bishop Sherlock, is now, in right of his Bishopric seised and possessed of this property.

The said Mansion House

"having for many years last past been let out for tenements, shops, or warehouses, is now in a ruinous condition, so as to be unfit for the

[1] From the original roll, a Private Act, in manuscript; in the Parliament Office of the House of Lords.

[2] The date of the Act is 1749. Thomas Sherlock was translated from Salisbury to London, 1st December, 1748. He was succeeded by Thomas Hayter, 1761.

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habitation of the Bishop of London, and cannot be made habitable without expending a sum of money more than equal to the amount of the present value thereof."

The Bishop seeks license to demise or sell the said property. Leave is given to demise or lease the said premises, for any term not exceeding forty years, or three lives,

"to take effect in possession and not in reversion, so as in each and every the said lease or leases there be reserved and contained such annual rent or rents, for the benefit of the said Bishop and his successors, and such covenants and conditions as shall from time to time be approved of by the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and the King's Attorney General for the time being, or two of them."

Leave is further given to the Bishop to take down such part of the mansion as shall not be of use to any tenant, and to dispose of the materials. A building lease for 99 years may be granted. Ground rents for the benefit of the Bishop to be approved by the aforesaid persons. At the expiration of this term of 99 years, the Bishop then being may grant leases for forty years of the property.

Power is also given to alienate, or sell the said property, "if it shall be found more beneficial for the said Bishop or his successors" so to do, with the consent of the aforesaid persons. The money accruing from the sale is to be duly invested, and the interest thereof to be paid to the Bishop of London, "until the principal money can be conveniently laid out in the purchase of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in fee simple, in possession to and for the

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sole use and benefit of the said Bishop and his successors."

I conclude this paper with the following miscellaneous assemblage of notes taken from the manuscript collections of the Rev. John Pridden in the library of the late Mr. John Gough Nichols. There are some inaccuracies in the account, but it is scarcely necessary to indicate them: the full details already given, may suffice. I print the notes chiefly because the writer gives some account, alas! only too brief, of a visit which he himself paid to "the ruins of the house."

"After the fire of London, when the Bishop's Palace was burnt, this was given to the Bishops; and Bishop Henchman, while S. Paul's was re-building, ordained the Clergy etc., in the chapel, which Bishop Compton re-built, and about 10 years ago the Bishop's secretary removed the furniture, and a large collection of records to Fulham. The Library, which had been fitted up with handsome wainscot, was divided into a number of rooms, and let to one Daniel or David Avery, and his family, who had but just quitted it before it fell down in the day time. Avery was an odd fellow, but had been employed about the light-house at the Nore by the Government, who allowed him, afterwards, a guinea a week. Bishop Sherlock had been applied to to sell or alienate, and there is now but a little of the lease remaining. There is an old wall belonging to the Charter House under the building which has occasioned frequent suits between parishes, which may now be cleared up. I went over the ruins of this house, July 22nd, 1768, and saw in one room above, over the chimney, a handsome Coat of Arms, in wood, with supports and ornaments. The chapel was a modern stone building with a circular east end. A woman had told me the house had been a nunnery, and was 1,000 years old. Mr. Seddon's policy for £3,000, expired the

[1] Mr. Pridden was admitted a minor Canon in S. Paul's Cathedral, November 23rd, 1782.

I am indebted to the Rev. J. H. Coward, Warden of the College of the Minor Canons. for this extract.

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Saturday before the fire; he went in the afternoon to the office but the clerks were gone. He has £1,000 in the Union."

IV.—LONDON HOUSE, S. JAMES'S SQUARE.

When did the Bishops of London migrate from Aldersgate Street to S. James's Square, following the usual course of civilisation from East to West?

Mr. Wheatley, in his account of S. James's Square,[1] notes that "No. 22 is the town residence of the Bishops of London, and has been so from about the year 1720, before which time London House was situated in Aldersgate Street."

Mr. Timbs, in his *Curiosities of London*, carries us a step further. "No. 22," he says, "is London House, re-built in 1820 for the Bishops of London."[2]

And, in his valuable work entitled *London Past and Present*, Mr. Wheatley corrects and amplifies his earlier statement.[3]

"London House, S. James's Square, was purchased for the see of London in 1771, when it was very old and dilapidated; and an Act was passed in 1819 to enable the Bishop to borrow £10,000, to be expended in re-building it. The house was re-built from the designs of C. R. Cockerell, architect."

I am able to add the following details from an authentic source.

Sir Arthur Blomfield, to whom I applied for information upon the subject, tells me that London House, S. James's Square, was re-built by Cockerell, in 1820, for the then Bishop;[4] and that certain

[1] Henry S. Wheatley, *Round about Piccadilly*, 374. Octavo. London, 1870.
[2] *Curiosities of London*, 750. Octavo. London, 1855.
[3] Henry S. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1891.
[4] Bishop Howley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

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alterations were made, at about the same period, in the Palace at Fulham, on the garden front. Of the alterations at Fulham Palace, he gives the following account:—"The two ends, *i.e.*, the present morning room at one end, and Porteus Library at the other, used to project, the centre being recessed. What the internal arrangements then were," proceeds Sir Arthur, "I cannot say, but I recollect an old water colour drawing showing this front with the recess and a battlemented parapet, modern, but certainly better than the present building. The present Porteus Library was then the chapel, but the floor must have been at a higher level, as there was a cellar below it. When the chapel was moved from this position, it was placed most improperly and inconveniently in the old hall of the Palace, now the entrance hall; and the altar piece, and I believe a good deal more of the woodwork, came from the old episcopal residence in Aldersgate Street."

Of London House, S. James's Square, there is little to be said. The reception rooms and staircase are good enough, all else was sacrificed to these; the rest of the house is badly planned and most inconvenient, the offices and bedroom accommodation are bad and inadequate. There was no attempt at a chapel, till Archbishop Tait, when Bishop of London, turned the only bedroom on the first floor, into what has since done duty as a chapel.

It is not my purpose now to speak of Fulham Palace "attached to the see by the traditions of eight centuries," with its spacious house, so "comfortable and domestic, the garden half hidden on the margin of the Thames, with its spreading lawn of soft and level turf shadowed with choice shrubs and goodly

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trees, the avenue of ancient elms, the circling moat guarding the whole from intrusion; so close upon the restless world, yet itself a haunt of ancient peace."[1] I limit myself in the present paper to the London residences of the Bishop, the old Palace in S. Paul's churchyard, London House in Aldersgate Street, and to the briefest notice of the latest dwelling, London House, S. James's Square.

I must, however, add a few words about the old Chapel at Fulham, since it supplies an interesting link with London House.

The chapel at Fulham, writes Lysons,[2] "was either removed to its present situation or considerably enlarged, and fitted up by Bishop Terrick. The wainscot was brought from the chapel at London House, in Aldersgate Street, where it had been placed by Bishop Juxon. The greater part of the painted glass, some of which is very fine, was removed from the same place; it consists principally of the arms of the Bishops of London."

"In the first window, towards the west, are the arms of the Bishops Fitzjames, Kemp, Grindall, Tunstall, Compton, Savage, Fletcher, and Abbot; in the second window, those of the Bishops Bonner, Laud, Fletcher, Tunstall, Gibson, and Porteus; in the third window is a representation of the Lord's Supper, the arms of King Henry VIII, impaling those of Catherine Howard; the arms of Edward VI, when Prince of Wales, the arms of the two metropolitan sees, with those of all the bishoprics within the two provinces, and those of Bishop Terrick. In the fourth

[1] *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, second edition, 361.
[2] Lyson's *Environs of London*. Second edition. Vol. ii., part 1. p. 226.

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window is a representation of S. John, baptising Christ, the arms of Bishops Laud, Robinson, with a rustic motto, Compton, Hayter, Savage, and Fitzjames. In the fifth window are the Royal arms; a rose party gules and argent, the cognizance of Henry VII; a rose with the red and white mixed, the cognizance, it is probable, of Henry VIII; and the arms of the Bishops Aylmer, Osbaldeston, Tunstall, Sherlock, Savage, Lowth, Kemp, and Juxon."

"Bishop Osbaldeston, who died in 1764, left the sum of £1,000 towards the repairs of Fulham Palace. Bishop Terrick making use of this money, with considerable additions, probably of his own, fitted up the chapel as above-mentioned, and re-built the suite of apartments towards the river."[1]

The present Hall (it is the Ancient Hall, restored to its proper use) contains the following inscription:[2]

"This Hall, with the adjoining Quadrangle, was erected by Bishop Fitzjames in the reign of Henry VII, on the site of the buildings of the old Palace, as ancient as the Conquest. It was used as the Hall by Bishop Bonner and Bishop Ridley, during the struggles of the Reformation; and retained its original proportions till it was altered by Bishop Sherlock in the reign of George II. Bishop Howley, in the reign of George IV, changed it into a private unconsecrated chapel. It is now restored to its original purpose on the erection, by Bishop Tait, of a new chapel of more suitable dimensions. A.D. 1866."

[1] Lyson's *Environs*. ib. 227.

[2] For a transcript of which I am indebted to the Rev. Wilfred Ogle, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of London.

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INVENTORY OF THE CHAPEL IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE, *temp:* EDWARD VI.

THE INVENTORI OF THE CHAUNTRE IN CAPELLA BASSA INFRA PALLACIUM EPISCOPI LONDON.[1]

Inprimis a Chalice Copper and parcell gylte praised at ...	xx$^{d.}$
Item a whyght vestment with all therto belongyng ...	viij$^{s.}$
Item a vestment of satten a briggs[2] black with thappertenaunces	vij$^{s.}$
Item a vestment of Grene color with a red cross with thappertenaunces	vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Item a vestment of whyght fustian[3] with thappertenaunces amise excepte	iiij$^{s.}$
Item a vestment of whight saye[4] with flowers	ij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Item a vestment of whight fustyan	iij$^{s.}$
Item an olde altar [cloth, ?] of diaper	xij$^{d.}$
Item ij olde altar clothes	xviij$^{d.}$
Item a diapere towell torne	iiij$^{d.}$
Item the hangyng before the altare and behynd of olde dormick	xij$^{d.}$
Item a corporase with the case	xij$^{d.}$
Item a hanggyng of the forsayd satten a bryggs ...	iiij$^{s.}$
Item the hanggyng behynd the altar of the same ...	iiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$
Item a courtayne of single sattayne tancy	xij$^{d.}$
Item iij cowrtaynes of canvas paynted	xviij$^{d.}$

[1] Liber Cantariarum Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli. Time of Edward VI. [W.D. 26, last leaf.]

[2] Satten a briggs. That is, Bruges satin: an imitation satin with thread weft. This material appears in an inventory of 1575 at 1*s.* 6*d.* the yard. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary.*

[3] Fustian. In early times Barcelona, Naples, and Venice, were famous for their fustians, which in those days was probably made with linen warp and cotton woof. It is now a coarse twilled cotton cloth.

[4] Saye. A sort of thin woollen stuff or serge: but sometimes, and probably here, a thin silk or satin. The eastern counties were once famous for their "Bays and Says."

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Item ij paynted clothes oon to hang befor the altare and an other behynge	xx$^{d.}$
Item on curtane of canvas dyde blewe	xij$^{d.}$
Item a litell coffer	xx$^{d.}$
Item a litle rownde cheste	v$^{s.}$
Item ij olde mass bokes of paper	ij$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$
Item an olde masse boke of parchement	ij$^{s.}$
Item an olde antiphoner of parchement	xvj$^{d.}$
Item twoo olde canstyks[1] of latyn and a sacring bell ...	xvj$^{d.}$
Item a vestment with thappertenaunces of dornix[2] ...	v$^{s.}$
Item a vestment of red color with a whight crosse ...	ij$^{s.}$
Item a litle presse of waynscot prise	v$^{s.}$
SUMMA TOTALIS	iij$^{li.}$ xix$^{s.}$

[1] Candlesticks of a kind of brass.

[2] Dornix, dornick, dornock. A term now generally used for chequered table linen. Tapestry or Dornix hangings were made in Norwich, with silk, with wool, with thread, and with caddas (or yarn).

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ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, AND ITS EARLY LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral, on Wednesday, 13th May, 1891.

BY

CHARLES WELCH, F.S.A.,

Librarian to the Corporation of London, Honorary Secretary.

THE literary associations which connect St. Paul's Cathedral with certain localities in its immediate vicinity are clearly not of accidental origin. The church kept burning through the desolation of the Dark Ages, even though it were with a dim religions light, the torch of learning and literary culture. And so we find that from very early times there were settled in the neighbourhood of the cathedral-church writers of service books and other ecclesiastical craftsmen, whose avocations have survived in memory to this day in the nomenclature of the courts and lanes on the north and north-west sides of the cathedral.

In a curious list of (112) London crafts and mysteries, dated the 9th year of Henry V.'s reign, 1422, preserved at Brewers' Hall, the undermentioned guilds connected with book making are included, in the following order: 50 Scriptores litteræ curialis (Court-hand writers), 85 Bokebynders, 86 Scriptores texti (Text-writers), 87 Stacioners. According to Stow, the craft of Text-writers was the predecessor

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of the later established Company of Stationers. But the list above quoted shows that the two guilds existed separately as early as 1422, and there is evidence which assigns the origin of the Stationers' Company to the year 1405.[1]

Another valuable fifteenth-century list of 65 of the Companies in their order of precedence is preserved in the Pewterers' Company's Book of Records. It is dated 1488, sixty-six years later than the Brewers' list, and contains only the Stationers (39th in order), the other three crafts having meantime disappeared. No records of these ancient guilds are extant, and the books of the Stationers' Company unfortunately do not begin until the year 1554, more than eighty years subsequent to the introduction of printing into England. We are, therefore, indebted, for our information as to the work of the earliest London printers, to an examination of the products of their presses.

Many of the writers of books, we may suppose, who lived around St. Paul's kept pace with the times and set up presses for themselves, and an investigation of the Registers of the Stationers' Company proves this to be the case. As an instalment of the index to his invaluable Transcript of the Registers, Professor Arber has lately published a very interesting directory of London publishers arranged under the localities of their presses, and compiled from the imprints of books registered at Stationers' Hall in the years 1556, 1557, and 1558. From these lists we learn that in 1556 there were 32 booksellers or publishers in

[1] The Company, in a petition to the Court of Aldermen, in 1645, state that they have possessed ordinances for *240 years*.

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London, 33 in 1557, and 36 in 1558. Of these, about two-thirds were probably printers, as we know from Christopher Barker's Report to Lord Burghley upon the printing patents, in 1582, that there were 22 printing houses in London in that year.

An examination of Professor Arber's list for the year 1556 reveals the curious fact that of the 32 booksellers and printers then living in London included in the list for that year, no less than fifteen lived in St. Paul's Churchyard, five others in close proximity, eight in Fleet Street, two in Lombard Street, one in Aldersgate, and another in a locality unknown. The fact that St. Paul's so soon became the headquarters of London printing, makes it probable that the new invention was quickly adopted by the Cathedral scribes; but the exact date is very difficult to fix, owing to the frequent omission of a precise indication of locality, beyond that of London, by the early sixteenth century printers, and the fugitive character of the publications which must have first issued from their presses. The shops of the booksellers and printers were in some cases situated at the doors of the Cathedral, as with John Kingston, who had his stall at the west door. Richard Jugge dwelt at the Bible at the north door, and the Widow Toy at the Bell in the churchyard. The names of the other shopkeepers in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1556 were Henry Sutton at the Black Boy, Reginald Wolf at the Brazen Serpent, John Turk at the Cock, William Seres at the Hedgehog, John Cawood at the Holy Ghost, Abraham Veale at the Lamb, William Bonham at the Red Lion, John Wight at the Rose, Michael Lobley at the St. Michael, Anthony Kitson

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at the Sun, John King at the Swan, and Andrew Hester at the White Horse.

In order to complete my enquiry, I have prepared a list of London printers from Caxton down to 1556, when Prof. Arber's lists begin, with the printers' residences and the dates within which they are known to have printed. Those living within the Cathedral precincts are distinguished by full-faced type. The list is based on a personal examination of the books of each printer, preserved in the British Museum,[1] supplemented by references to Ames, Sinker, Timperley, and other authorities. It is intended to include all London booksellers and printers who were in business before 1556, but I am only too conscious that it may contain many mistakes both of inclusion and omission. I shall be grateful for any corrections or additions to the following list, and also for any facts to supplement the short biographical notices of each printer which follow.

ANDREW, Laurence. [1527–1530.]
Sygne of the golden crosse by fletebridge.
AWEN, William. 1551.
BALDWIN, William. 1549.
Flete strete at the signe of the sunne, ouer agaynst the conduyte.
Bale, John. 1549.
Wythin Paules chayne, at the sygne of S. John Baptist.
BANKES, Richard. 1525–1542.
— a lytel fro ye Stockes in ye Pultry.
BARBIER, John. 1498.
BERTHELET, Thomas. 1528–1568.
The "Lucretia Romana" in Fleet Street.

[1] I have much pleasure in recording my grateful acknowledgments to G. K. Fortescue, Esq., for the special facilities which he kindly afforded me.

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Bonham, William. 1542.
(1) **Sygne of the Kinges Armes.**
(2) **Sygne of the reed Lyon,** Paules Churchyarde.

BOTELER, John. 1521–1527.
Sygne of saynt John the euangelyst in Flete strete.

BOURMAN, Nicholas. 1542.
Aldersgate Street.

BOWMAN, N. [1532.]

BRETTON, William. 1505–1506.

BYDDELL, alias SALISBURY, John. 1534–1540.
(1) Sygne of our Lady of pite next to Flete brydge.
(2) Sygne of the Sonne, agaynste the Cundyte.

CALY, Robert. 1553–1558.
Within the late dissolued house of the Graie Friers.

Car, Roger. 1548.
Sygne of the George in Paul's Churchyarde.

Case, John [1550–1551.]
Peter college rents.
Sygne of the Baule in Paules churche yarde.

Cawood, John. 1546–1578.
Sygne of the Holy Ghost, Poules churcheyarde.

CAXTON, William. 1474–90.

COLWELL, Thomas. 1540–[1578.]
Flete-streat beneath the Conduite at the sygne of S. John Euangelyst.

COPLAND, Robert. 1508–1547.
Flete strete at the sygne of the rose Garlande.

COPLAND, William. [1553]–1569.
(1) Flete strete at the sygne of the rose Garlande.
(2) Thames street, in the Vyntre upon the Three Cranes Warfe.
(3) Lothbury, over against Sainct Margaryte's church.

CROWLEY, Robert. 1550.
Elye rentes in Holburne.

Dabbe or **Tab, Henry. [1520]–1542.**
Stacyoner and biblyopolyst, **Paules Churche yarde.**

Day, John. 1546–1584.
1546. Signe of the Resurrection, a little above Holborn Conduit, in St. Sepulchre's parishe.
1549. Over Alders Gate, beneath St. Martin's (church).
1572. **St. Paul's Churchyard.**

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DISLE, John. [1506 ?]
[Mentioned by Bagford in his MSS. cf. Timperley, p. 209.]
FAQUES, William. 1504.
Within seynt Elens.
Abchurch Lane.
FAWKES, Myghill. [1525 ?]
Fawkes, Richard. 1509–1530.
The Maiden in St. Paul's Churchyard.
Powles Churcheyarde, at the Sygne of the A. B. C.
Durresme-rentes, without Temple barre.
FOLLINGHAM, or FOLLINGTON, William. 1544.
He printed for Richard Banks at Holy Well, in Shoreditch.
GAULTIER, Thomas. 1550.
Fletebridge.
GEMINI, Thomas. 1556–1559.
Within the black fryars, [near Lud Gate.]
GIBSON, Thomas. 1535–1539.
GODFRAY, Thomas. 1532.
Olde bayly.
Gough, John. 1537–1543.
The Mermaid in Cheapside, next to Paul's Gate.
Lombarde Strete, at the sygne of the Marmayde, agaynste the stockes market.
GRAFTON, Richard. 1538–1571.
1546. House of the Grey Friers.
GRIFFITH, William. 1556–1571.
Falcon in Fleet street against St. Dunstan's Church.
Gybken, John. 1551.
Sprede Egle, Paules Churchyarde.
HARVEY, Richard. 1557.
Foster Lane.
HARYSON, Richard. 1552–1562.
1562. White Crosse strete.
HAWKINS, John. 1530.
HERFORD or HERTFORD, John. 1544–1546.
(1) St. Alban's
(2) Aldersgate strete.

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HERFORD, Widow. 1550.
Aldersgate Strete.

Hester, Andrew. 1550.
White Horse in Paul's Churchyard.

HILL, N. 1548–1553.
S. Jhones strete [Clerkenwell.]

Hill, William. 1548–1549.
1548. Signe of the Grene Hyll in Paules Churche Yarde.

JACOBUS [James], Henry. 1508.

JOY, George. 1541.

Jugge, Richard. 1546–1577.
Bible at the North door of Paules Church.

KAETZ, P. 1524.

KELE, Richard. [? 1520–? 1552.]
1545. The longe shop vnder saynt Myldred's Chyrche in the Powltry.
1552. Lombarde strete nere unto the stockes market at the sygne of the Egle.

King, John.
(1) Swan in Paul's Churchyard.
(2) Crede Lane.

Kingstone, John. 1553–1583.
1558. Poules Churchyarde at the West door.

KYNGSTONE, Anthony. 1548.
St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe parish.

Kitson, Anthony.
Sun in Paul's Churchyard.

LANT, Rychard. [1520 ?–1544.]
1544. Olde Bayly in Saynt poulchres paryssh.

Letou, Gregory.
Hedgehog at the West end of Paules.

LETTOU, John. 1480–81.
Near Allhallows Church.

Lobley, Michael. 1563.
St. Michael in Paul's Churchyard.

Lynne, Walter. 1547–1550.
1550. Somers Keye, by Byllyngesgate.
His books were sold **in Paules church yarde nexte the great Schole, at the sygne of the sprede Egle [? Gybken's shop.]**

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MACHLINIA, William de. [1481?–1483?]
Holborn near Flete bridge.

Madeley, Roger. 1553.
Sign of the Starre in Paules Churche yearde.

MAYLERRE, or MAYLART, John. 1539–1543.
1542. Botulphe lane at the sygne of the Whyte Beare.

{ MATHER, John. } 1547 [–? 1575.]
{ MOPTID, David. } 1547.
1547. Redcrosse streete nexte adioyning to S. Gylses Church.

MIDDLETON, William. 1525–1547.
Flete strete at the signe of the George.

MYERDMAN, Stephen. 1550–1552.

NICOLSON, James. 1537–1538.
Southwarke in Saynt Thomas hospitall.

Notary Julian. 1495–1518.
(1) King Street, Westminster.
(2) Without Temple Bar in St. Clement's parysshe at the sygne of the 3 kings.
(3) **Dwellynge in powlys Chyrche yarde besyde ye weste dore by my lordes palyes.**

Pepwell, Henry. 1518–1521.
Holy Trynyte, Poules Churchyarde.

Petyt, Thomas. 1521–1554.
Sygne of the Mayden's heede in Paules Churchyearde.

PICKERING, Elizabeth. [1540?]
Sygne of the George nexte to Saynt Dunstones Churche.

PILGRIM, Jodocus. 1508.

POWELL, Humphrey. 1548.
(1) Aboue Holburne Conduit.

POWELL, WILLIAM. 1547.
Sygne of the George, nexte to Saynt Dunstones Church.

PYNSON, Richard. 1493–1527.
(1) Without Temple Bar.
(2) Sygne of the George, Flete strete.

Rastell, John. 1528–1536.
In the Cheapesyde at the sygne of the Meremayde nexte pouley's gate.

RASTELL, William. 1530–1534.
Flete strete in St. Bride's Churche yarde.

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Raynalde, Thomas 1548–1551.

(1) In the Waredropt [Wardrobe], Saynt Andrewes Parysh.

(2) 1549. **The Star in St. Paul's Churchyard**

REDMAN [afterwards PICKERING], Elizabeth. 1540.

Sygne of the George nexte to Saynt Dunstone Churche.

Redman, John. [1540?–1542.]

In Pater noster rowe, at the signe of our Lady of Pytye.

REDMAN, Robert. 1529–1540.

Signe of the George, Saynt-Dunstones pa-rysshe.

Reynes, John. [1532?]

Sygne of Saynte George in Paules churcheyarde.

RIDDELL, William. 1552.

Eagle in Lombard Street.

SCOLOKER, Anthony. 1548–1550.

(1) 1548. St Botolph's paryshe, Aldersgate.

(2) In the Savoyrēts without Temple barre.

Seres, William. 1546–1577.

(1) Savoury Rents.

(2) Ely Rents without Aldersgate Street.

(3) Peter colledge, towards Ludgate, [adjoining Dean's Court in St. Paul's Churchyard.]

(4) Hedgehog at the West end of Paul's Church.

SHEFELDE, J. 1550.

Singleton, Hugh. 1548–1582.

(1) Signe of the Dobbelhood ouer agaynste the Styliardes in Temstrete.

(2) 1578. Creede Lane, at the signe of the gylden Sunne, neare unto Ludgate.

(3) Sygne of St. Augnstine in Pauls Churchyard.

(4) North door of Christ's Hospital, next the Cloister.

Skot, John. 1521?–1537.

(1) 1521–22. Saynte poulkers paryshe without Newgate.

(2) 1529. Poules Chyrchyarde.

(3) 1537. Fouster lane in Saynt Leonardts parysshe.

SMYTH, A. 1548.

SMYTH, Henry. 1545–1546.

Signe of the Trinitie wythout Temple barre.

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STOUGHTON, ROBERT. 1548.
The bishop's mitre within Ludgate.

SUTTON, Edward. 1553–1562.
Cradle in Lombard Street.

Sutton, Henry. 1553–1562.
Black Boy in Paul's Churchyard.

Tab. *See* **Dabbe.**

Telotson, William.
1544. West dore of Paules.

TILLY. *See* Tyll.

TISDALE, John. 1550–1563.
Mitre in Smithfield.
Knight Riders' streate nere to the Quenes Waredrop.
Eagle's foot in Allhallows church-yard, Lombard Street.
Printed with John Charlewood at Holborn Conduit.

TOTTELL, Richard. 1553–1597.
Signe of the hand & starre in Flete strete within Temple barre.

Toy, John. 1531.
Sygne of saynte Nycolas in Poules chyrche-yard.

Toy, Robert (& Widow.) 1545–1555.
Sign of the Bell in St. Paul's church-yard.

TREVERIS, Peter. 1525–1535.
Sign of the Wodows in Southwark.

TRUTHAL, Christopher. 1555–1556.
Sothewarke.

Turk, John. [1550 ?.]
Cock in Paul's Churchyard.

TYLL or TILLY, W. 1548.
Wythin Aldrichgate in the parisshe of Sayncte Anne and Agnes.

Vele, Abraham. 1548–1586.
Lamb in Paul's Churchyard.

WALEY, John. 1547–1582.
Hart's Horn in Foster lane.

WAYLAND, John. 1537–1556.
(1) 1541. Blue Garland in Fleet Street.
(2) Flete strete at the sygne of the sunne ouer against the Conduite.

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WHITCHURCH, Edward. 1538–1560.
(1) Well and two buckets in St. Martin le Grand.
(2) Churchyard of St. Mary Aldermary.
(3) Signe of the Sunne, ouer agaynst the conduyte, Flete strete.

WILCOCK, WILLIAM. 1499?
A bookseller.

Wight, John. 1551.
Sygne of the Rose in Paules Churche Yarde.

Wolf, Reginald. 1542–1573.
The Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard.

WORDE, Wynkyn de. 1493–1534.
Golden Sun, Fleet Street.

WYER, J. 1550.
A lytle aboue the Conduyte in Flete strete.

WYER, Robert. 1527–1550.
Sygne of saynt Johan the euangelyste in saynt Martyn's paryshe, in the byshop of Norwytche rentes, besyde Charyng crosse.

William Baldwin is said by Anthony à Wood to have been a west-countryman, who studied at Oxford, and, on leaving the University, became a schoolmaster and a minister. He appears to have engaged in printing to promote the Reformation, and was "a seruant with Edwarde Whitchurche." He is known as the author of a treatise on moral philosophy, which was first printed by Edward Whitchurch in 1547. He also wrote a metrical version of the Psalms, and some "mysteries" or "moralities," now unknown or lost. He printed his own version of Solomon's Song in 1549, under the title of "Ballads of Salomon." He also edited, jointly with George Ferrers, and largely contributed to "The Mirrour for Magistrates," which appeared with an epistle by him to the nobility in 1563. His device was a hand holding a caduceus, having at top an open book, over which is a dove with wings

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extended, and under it "Love and Lyve" in a small compartment; a scroll issues from each of the serpent's mouths, the one with "Nosce te ipsvm" the other with "Ne qvid nimis;" under the serpents is his name, BAL on one side and WIN on the other, with the middle letter D on the caduceus. The whole is contained in a parallelogram, with this motto about it: "Be wise as Serpentes, and Innocent as Doves."

Richard Banks carried on the business of a printer for about twenty years, but little is known of his personal history. Fifteen books from his press are extant, dated between 1525 and 1542. He dwelt first in the Poultry, six doors from the Stocks. In 1539 he printed at the White Hart in Fleet Street, for Richard Taverner, and in 1540 "The Epistles and Gospels," from his press, was sold by Anthony Clarke at the above address, and also by Thomas Pettit in "Powle's Church Yarde." Banks had a patent from Henry VIII. for printing this work. His device is not known.

John Barbier was a printer of considerable skill, and, besides being in partnership with Julian Notary, was much employed by the most eminent printers of his day.

Thomas Berthelet was the second printer after Richard Pynson who held the office of King's Printer, and the first whose patent has been found. His salary was £4 yearly, and in his grant of arms, preserved in Heralds' College, he is called "Thomas Berthelet, Esquyre, of London, gentillman." He lived in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Lucretia Romana which also served him for a device. He employed other printers, both in Paris and London, and altogether 140 works issued from his press between the years

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1528 and 1568. He died about Christmas, 1556, and was succeeded, both in his dwelling and business, by Thomas Powel, who had been for some time previous his chief assistant.

William Bonham lived at the King's Arms, and afterwards at the Red Lion, in St. Paul's Churchyard. He printed an edition of Chaucer, the "English and Latin Primer," the Bible, and other works between 1542 and 1551.

John Boteler, or Butler, is only known as the printer of one work, dated 1527. He lived at the sign of St. John the Evangelist, in Fleet Street. Robert Wyer, who was probably his apprentice, afterwards occupied the same house, and used Boteler's device.

Nicholas Bourman printed in Aldersgate Street in 1539 and later. He was a renter warden of the Stationers' Company in 1557–8.

William Bretton was not himself a printer, but a wealthy London merchant who encouraged the printing of English books abroad, about the year 1506. These were mostly sold at the Holy Trinity, in St. Paul's Churchyard, and it is not clear whether Bretton lived here, or Henry Pepwell, the bookseller.

John Byddell, or Bedel, *alias* Salisbury, was both a stationer and a printer, and appears to have sold books as early as 1533. He first carried on business at the sign of Our Lady of Pity, in Fleet Street, and afterwards removed to the sign of the Sun, the house of Wynkyn de Worde. From the colophon of "The Lyfe of Hyldebrande," he seems to have been a partner of that famous printer, or else to have employed him to print books before he began the business of a printer himself. He was also the executor of Wynkyn de Worde.

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Robert Caly is said to have succeeded Richard Grafton in his house in the Grey Friars, now Christ's Hospital. Twenty-two books from his press are known, dated from 1553 to 1558.

John Cawood was descended from an old Yorkshire family, as appears from a book at the Heralds' Office, and was born in 1514. He learnt the art of printing from John Raynes, at the sign of St. George, in St. Paul's Churchyard. In 1553, on the accession of Queen Mary, he was made Queen's Printer, in the place of Richard Grafton, who forfeited the office for having printed the proclamation by which Lady Jane Grey was declared successor to the Crown. He dwelt in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Holy Ghost, where he afterwards became a partner with Richard Jugge, with whom he was also associated in the office of King's Printer on the accession of Elizabeth. For this branch of the business the partners rented a room in Stationers' Hall, for 20*s*. a year. Fifty-nine books bear Cawood's imprint, issued between 1549 and the year of his death. He was Warden of the Stationers' Company under the charter granted to the Company in 1556. He also served the office of Master, and was a liberal benefactor to the Company. In 1565, however, he incurred the penalty of 16*s*. 8*d*., with sixteen other members, for "stechen of bookes which ys contrarie to the orders of the house." He was three times married, and left by his first wife three sons and four daughters. Cawood died on 1st April, 1572, and was buried in St. Faith's, under St. Paul's. His epitaph is preserved in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's.

Of the immortal William Caxton, the first English printer, it is unnecessary to speak at length. Sprung

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from an old Kentish family, he was born, probably in London, about the year 1422, and was afterwards apprenticed to Robert Large, an eminent member of the Mercers' Company, and Lord Mayor. On the expiration of his indentures, in 1446, he went to Bruges, where he engaged in business and became the Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers. In March, 1468-9, he began an English translation, "as a preventive against idlenes" (he tells us), of the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," which he continued at Ghent, and finished at Cologne, in 1471. The book being in great demand, Caxton set himself to learn the newly discovered art of printing, in order to multiply copies. The Recuyell probably appeared in 1474, and was the first book printed in English. Caxton learnt the art of printing from Colard Mansion, who set up a press at Bruges about 1473. He left Bruges in 1476, and returned to England. In the following year he printed, at the sign of "The Reed Pale," in the Almonry at Westminster, "The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres," which is undoubtedly the first book printed in England. Here he remained a parishioner of St. Margaret's until his death in 1491. The parish accounts for 1490-2 state that 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid for four torches "atte burreying of Wylliam Caxton," and "6*d.* for the belle atte same burreying." A memorial tablet was erected to his memory in 1820, by the Roxburghe Club, and in 1883 a stained glass window was also set up in his honour by the London printers and publishers. Caxton's life was a busy one. To his work as a translator we are indebted for twenty-one books from the French, and one from the Dutch; besides which he printed nearly

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eighty books, some of which passed through more than one large edition. Three of his assistants, viz., Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and Robert Copland, afterwards became celebrated London printers.

Robert Copland, author and printer, is said by Bagford to have been an assistant of Caxton. He was certainly in the office of Wynkyn de Worde, who left him 10 marks, and whom, as well as Caxton, he describes as "my mayster." Copland printed only twelve works which are known, the first being the "Boke for a Justyce of Peas," printed at the sign of the Rose Garland, in Fleet Street, in 1515. His last book bears the date of 1547, the year of his death. He was also an author, and is best known by his "Hyeway to the Spyttell Hous," which is full of curious information about the cheats and vagabonds who resorted to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, after Henry the Eighth's statute against vagabonds in 1530–1.

William Copland is considered by Dibdin to have been the younger brother of Robert Copeland. He continued the business on the death of the latter in 1547. His name occurs among the original members of the Stationers' Company, named in the charter of 1556. In 1561 he had removed to Thames Street, and had a shop in the "Vyntre upon the Three Craned Warfe," and before, or after, this removal he was living "over against Sainct Margaryte's church." Copland's types and printing show much inferiority to those of Wynkyn de Worde. He died between July, 1568, and July, 1569. He printed over sixty works, chiefly between 1548 and 1568.

Robert Crowley, was a native of Gloucestershire, and born about 1518. He became a student at

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Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1534, and fellow of his college in 1553. Like William Baldwin, he was a strong adherent of the doctrines of the Reformation, and in 1548 published three controversial works, which were printed by Day and Seres. In the following year, he printed on his own account in Ely Rents, Holborn, a metrical version of the Psalms, and two other works of a polemical nature from his own pen. It is, however, upon the production of "Pierce Plowman," in 1550, for which he wrote a long preface, that his fame as a printer rests. Of this work he printed no less than three editions in that year. Some of the earliest Welsh books also came from his press. On the 29th September, 1551, he was ordained by Bishop Ridley, and from this time gave up printing. After being an exile at Frankfort, he returned to England, and afterwards held successively the benefices of St. Peter the Poor, St. Lawrence Jewry, and St. Giles without Cripplegate. He was also appointed Archdeacon of Hereford in 1559, and took an active part in Convocation in debates upon ecclesiastical discipline. He died 18th June, 1588, at about the age of 70, and was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. His widow was left so poor that she was allowed a pension of four nobles a year by the Stationers' Company. Crowley was noted in his day as an eloquent preacher, and both by his sermons and his pen strongly defended the principles of the Reformation. He is the author of twenty-two printed works, some of which were reprinted for the Early English Text Society, and edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper, in 1872.

Henry Dabbe or Tab. From the colophon of "The Questionary of Cyrurgyens," printed by Robert

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Copland in 1541, it appears that the work was "translated out of the Frensshe at the instigation and costes of the ryght honest parsone Henry Dabbe, stacyoner and byblyopolyst in Paule's Churchyarde." Dabbe also printed on his own account, but only two of his books are known, namely, "Hawkynge, Huntynge and Fysshynge," 1583, and "The Boke of Medicines," 1584.

John Day was born at Dunwich, Suffolk, in 1522, and was a cultured and learned man. By his skill and enterprise he did much to advance the excellence of the art, and his colophon, "Arise, for it is Day," is perhaps better known than that of any old English printer, Caxton and his immediate successors excepted. His first house was in St. Sepulchre's parish, at the sign of the Resurrection, a little above Holborn Conduit. About 1549 he removed to Aldersgate, "and builded much upon the wall of the City towards the parishe gate of St. Anne." He was a patentee for Poynet's catechism under a licence from Edward VI., and for A B C's and the Psalms in Elizabeth's reign. As a zealous reformer, he suffered imprisonment with John Rogers, and for a time left the country. Two of the chief works from his press were Foxe's Actes and Monuments, and the works of Thomas Becon. In Strype's "Life of Parker" is preserved an interesting account of Day's business: "And with the Archbishop's engravers, we may joyn his printer Day, who printed his 'British Antiquities' and divers other books by his order. . . . for whom the Archbishop had a particular kindness. . . . Day was more ingenious and industrious in his art, and probably richer, too, than the rest, and so became envied by the rest of his fraternity, who hindered, what they could, the

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sale of his books; and he had in the year 1572, upon his hands, to the value of two or three thousand pounds' worth—a great sum in those days. But living under Aldersgate, an obscure corner of the City, he wanted a good vent for them. Whereupon his friends, who were the learned, procured him, from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, a lease of a little shop to be set up in St. Paul's Churchyard. Whereupon he got framed a neat, handsome shop. It was but little and low, and flat-roofed and leaded like a terrace, railed and posted fit for men to stand upon in any triumph or show, but could not in anywise hurt or deface the same. This cost him forty or fifty pounds. But . . . his brethren the booksellers envied him, and by their interest got the Mayor and Aldermen to forbid him setting it up, though they had nothing to do there, but by power." Upon this, the Archbishop brought his business before the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, and interceded for him, that he would move the Queen to set her hand to certain letters that he had drawn up in the Queen's name to the City, in order that Day might be permitted to go forward with his building. Through this powerful influence, Day was permitted to continue in his long shop at the north-west door of St. Paul's. Day died in 1584, aged 62, and was buried at Bradley Parva. He published about 250 works. "He seems, indeed," says Dibdin "(if we except Grafton), the Plantin of Old English typographers; while his character and reputation scarcely suffer diminution from a comparison with those of his illustrious contemporary just mentioned."

William Faques was a native of France who settled in London, where he printed for five or six years.

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The earliest book which can safely be assigned to his press is a psalter of 1504. He held the appointment of King's Printer, and printed various proclamations and Acts of Parliament. His printing is beautifully executed. He printed within "Seynt Elens" and in Abchurch Lane.

Richard Fawkes, or Faques, is said by Bagford to have been a foreigner, and to have printed in the monastery of Syon. Ames supposes him to have been a relative of William Faques, the King's Printer. He is also said to have been the second son of John Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, Yorkshire. The productions of his press are very rare. The earliest known is "*Salus corporis salus anime*," printed in 1509. The colophon states:—"*Impressum est præsens opusculum Londoniis in divi Pauli semiterio sub Virginei Capitis signo.*" He afterwards removed from the "Maiden," or changed its sign to the A B C, also in St. Paul's Churchyard. In "The Myrroure of oure Lady," printed in 1530, he describes himself as dwelling in Durresme Rentes, or at the A B C, in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Thomas Gemini is said to have been the first person who engraved upon copper in this country. He afterwards set up as a printer in Blackfriars, where he printed "Digge's Prognostication" in 1556, and "Geminie's Anatomie" in 1559.

Thomas Gibson was an author as well as a printer, and compiled the first Concordance of the English New Testament. Nothing is known of him beyond a few works which bear his name as their printer between 1535 and 1539.

Thomas Godfray was a printer in the Old Bailey. Most of his works are undated. His edition of

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Chaucer, printed in 1532, is the earliest edition of the entire works of the poet. The first exclusive patent for printing a book in England was granted to Godfray for "The History of King Boccus."

John Gough, or Gouge, first printed, according to Herbert, in Cheapside, at the sign of the Mermaid, next to Paul's Gate, a house occupied by Rastell. He afterwards removed into Lombard Street, where he used the same sign. Many of his books were printed for him by Mayler and Nicholson, but Herbert seems to have no authority for accusing him of being a careless printer. In the time of the "Six Articles" he got into trouble, according to Fox, for visiting Thomas Gough Lancaster, a priest who was imprisoned in the Poultry Counter for compiling and bringing over prohibited books. His books date from 1536 to 1543.

Richard Grafton was a prosperous London merchant and a member of the Grocers' Company. His zeal for the Reformed religion led him to undertake to print an English version of the Bible. In this he was joined by Edward Whitchurch. The work was begun at Paris, under the authority of the French king, but afterwards encountered much opposition from the office of the Inquisition. The printing was finally completed at London, where the version known as the "Great Bible" appeared from their joint press in 1539. Besides other works of a theological nature, Grafton printed several secular books. On 28th January, 1543–4, Grafton and Whitchurch received an exclusive patent for printing church service books, and on 28th May, the exclusive right to print primers in Latin and English. Grafton remained Prince Edward's printer till that

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Prince's accession as Edward VI, when he was granted the sole right of printing the statutes and acts of parliament, and became King's printer. Grafton is also famous as having printed the first Book of Common Prayer. He first set up his press in the precincts of the late dissolved House of the Grey Friars, and afterwards removed to Christ's Hospital. In 1560, Grafton is described in Machyn's Diary as "cheyff master of the hospetall at Criste-chyche." On the accession of Lady Jane Grey, Grafton printed her proclamation. He was, therefore, deprived of the office of royal printer by Queen Mary, and John Cawood received it in his stead. Grafton is also well known as an author. In 1563, he published a continuation of Hall's Chronicle, in 1565, A manual of the Chronicles of England from the Creation to his own day, and in 1568–69, "A Chronicle at large and meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same." In 1555 and 1556, he was warden of the Grocers' Company, and was master of Bridewell Hospital in 1559 and 1560. Grafton seems to have died about 1572. His wife died in 1560, and her funeral, which was conducted with much pomp, is described by Machyn.

William Griffith, whose books are dated between 1556 and 1571, resided at the sign of the Falcon, in Fleet Street, in the Churchyard of St. Dunstan-in-the West. He used a rebus of a griffin sitting, holding an escutcheon with his mark or cipher, and the flower called sweet william in its mouth. Only six works from his press are known, one being "A Detection of Heresie; or, Why Heretics bee Brent."

John Hawkins, a printer of great skill, is unfortunately only known by a single book, the famous

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"Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse," of John Palsgrave, printed in 1530.

Hertford, or Herford, John, first printed at St. Albans in 1534, where he revived the art, after its disuse for forty-eight years. The Reformation soon afterwards brought about the total dispersion of the inmates of religious houses, and Hertford, having lost his chief patrons at St. Alban's Abbey, removed to London, and set up his press in Aldersgate Street. Here he produced nineteen works between the years 1544 and 1548. Some of these were printed for him by Robert Toye. His widow continued the business, and printed three works in 1549 and 1550.

Andrew Hester was a bookseller or printer, living in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the White Horse. He sold the primers composed by John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, in 1539, and "The whole Byble" of Coverdale was printed for Hester, and was on sale at his house in 1550. The latest of his books bears the date of 1551.

William Hill lived at the sign of the "Grenehill," in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the west door of the church. He printed six works in 1548 and 1549, and was also employed to print for William Seres. He is said to have left this trade soon after, for that of a binder. In 1556 he was fined one shilling by the Stationers' Company for binding primers in parchment, contrary to their regulations.

George Joy, otherwise Clerke or Clarke, is known as a printer by one work only, viz. :—"A Contrarye Consultacion," printed at London, without date, but probably in 1541. Joy was a fellow of Peter House College, Cambridge, and author of many theological works. Most of these were published abroad, where

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he lived in exile for many years. He translated several portions of the Bible, and was employed as corrector of the press for the Dutch version of Tyndale's New Testament. For certain liberties which he took with the translation, Tyndale called him to account in the preface of his second edition. Fuller says, "Notwithstanding many machinations against his life, he found his coffin where he fetched his cradle, being peaceably buried in his native country, 1553."

Richard Jugge was of good parentage, and educated at Eton College, whence he proceeded as a scholar in 1531 to King's College, Cambridge. He was a zealous promoter of learning, and of the principles of the Reformation. He probably learned the printer's art in London, where he lived in Newgate Street, next to Christ church, and set up a shop at the sign of the Bible at the north door of St. Paul's church. Seventy books bear his imprint, including many editions both of the Old and New Testaments. The latter are beautiful specimens of printing, not only on account of the type, but for the elegant initial letters and fine wood cuts. His books are dated from 1546 to 1577, and in January, 1550, he received sole licence from Government to print the New Testament in English. On the accession of Elizabeth he was joined with John Cawood, as Queen's printer, at a joint salary of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* On the death of Cawood, he enjoyed the privileges of the patent alone. He employed a curious rebus: an angel holding the letter R in one corner, and in another corner a nightingale on a bush, and a label with IVGGE to express his name. He also used a device consisting of a massive architectural panel adorned with wreaths of fruit, etc., and bearing in the

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centre an oval within which is a pelican feeding her young ones, surrounded by the mottoes, "Love kepyth the lawe, obeyeth the kynge, and is good to the Common Welthe," and "Pro rege, lege et grege." On either side of the oval stand female figures representing Prudence and Justice. Jugge was succeeded in his business by his wife, Joan.

Richard Kele, or Keel, printed at the Long Shop in the Poultry, under St. Mildred's church, and at the sign of the Eagle, in Lombard Street, near the Stocks Market. His works are dated from 1548 to 1582.

John Kingston had a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the west door. He appears to have been connected with Henry Sutton during the whole of Queen Mary's reign, especially in printing church books. Several works bear his imprint, and are dated from 1553 to 1583.

Richard Lant lived in the Old Bailey, in St. Sepulchre's parish, and, according to Ames and Herbert, he also resided in Aldersgate Street, and afterwards in Paternoster Row. His books bear date from 1542 to 1547. He printed the famous Declaration of Bishop Bonner at Paul's Cross, in 1541, for which he was strongly condemned by John Harrison in his "Course at the Romish Fox."

John Lettou, probably a German by birth, is said to have been the first to introduce the art of printing into the City of London. He printed only two books on his own account, viz.: "Quæstiones Antonii Andreæ," 1480, and "Expositiones super Psalterium," in 1481. His work was of the rudest description, and his types badly cut and broken. He afterwards joined William Machlinia, who was also a foreigner, first, it is said, as a journey-

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man, and afterwards in partnership. From their press issued the first edition of Littleton's "Tenures," a small folio, printed in a coarse Gothic type, without date or catchwords. Only five copies of this work are known to exist. Their printing office was near Allhallows Church, but the partnership was of short duration, as in 1483 Machlinia's name alone appears.

Michael Lobley, or Lobble, was a printer, stationer, bookseller and binder, living at the sign of St. Michael, in St. Paul's Churchyard. According to Ames, he was a servant of Henry Pepwell. In 1531 his name appears in a list of persons who abjured. He was charged with having bought at Antwerp certain books inhibited, as "The Revelation of Antichrist," "The Obedience of a Christian Man," etc.; also with speaking against images, and purgatory. He was a prominent member of the Stationers' Company, and served the offices of Under and Upper Warden in 1560 and 1562. In the latter part of his life he was discharged by the Stationers' Company from the payment of £4, being the balance of a note for £7 which he owed them. The books printed and sold by him are dated from 1545 to 1563.

Walter Lynne, a scholar, author, and printer, lived at Somers' Key, near Billingsgate. His books were sold at a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, next to the Great School, at the sign of the Spread Eagle, apparently Gybken's shop. Fourteen books from Lynne's press are known, printed between 1547 and 1550. His device is a whimsical one, consisting of two goats reared on their hind legs, and exchanging salutations with their fore-paws.

William Machlinia is supposed by Ames to have come from the city of Mechlin. He printed at first in

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partnership with Lettou, but the books which he afterwards printed were much superior in letter-press, paper, and type. They are all undated, and consist entirely of legal and religious publications. After leaving Lettou he removed to Holborn, near Fleet Bridge. Dibdin considers his "Liber Aggregationis seu Liber Secretorum Alberti Magni," to be the finest production of his press. Neither Lettou nor Machlinia appear to have used any device, but only to have printed their names in the colophons to their works.

Roger Madeley lived at the Star in St. Paul's Churchyard. Herbert states that he had only seen a copy of verses of his entitled "An Invective against Treason," in two columns, on a half-sheet, dated 1553.

John Mayler, or Maylart, is described by Ames as "a scholar, and a zealous man for the Reformation." He was a member of the company of Grocers, and dwelt at the White Bear in Botolph Lane, near Billingsgate. In 1541 he was charged with offending against the Six Articles, being "a sacramentary" and "a railer against the Mass." He printed in all twenty-one works between the years 1539 and 1545.

John Mather and David Moptid were partners, living in Redcross Street, adjoining to St. Giles's Church, without Cripplegate. Ames records only one book by these printers, under the date of 1566.

William Middleton, or Myddylton, succeeded Robert Redman in his house, the sign of the George, next to St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, after the marriage of Redman's widow to Ralph Cholmondeley. He printed in all thirty-eight works, dated from 1541 to 1547, among them John Heywood's play of "The Four P's" and Froissart's Chronicles. He used a rebus representing a tun on a shield

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supported by two angels, and a larger device, enclosed within a parallelogram. The latter consists of a fruit tree supporting a similar shield by a belt which is held up by a male and a female figure bearing wands, the lower parts of which terminate in the legs of goats and the tails of dragons; at the bottom of the trunk of the tree is a scroll of three folds on which is engraved WYLLYAM MYDDYLTON.

James Nicholson began to print in Southwark, according to Ames, in 1526, but no work with his imprint is known until ten years later. He lived in St. Thomas's Hospital, and, in 1537, had a patent from Henry VIII for printing the New Testament in Latin and English. Eighteen works in all issued from his press, including Coverdale's Bible and New Testament, and Cranmer's Bible. These all appeared between 1536 and 1538.

Julian Notary is believed by Ames to have printed in France before he came to this country. His name is associated with that of John Barbier as printer of the Salisbury Missal, which Ames believed to have been printed on the Continent. His first residence in England, as stated on the colophons of his earliest books, was in King Street, Westminster, but about 1503 he removed to a house with the sign of the Three Kings, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, without Temple Bar. In 1515 the colophon to "The Cronycle of England" shows that he had removed to a house with the same sign, in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the west door of the Cathedral, by the Bishop of London's Palace. He printed altogether twenty-three books, the earliest of which is dated December 20th, 1498, and the latest 1520. Notary used two devices.

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The more elaborate one appears as a binder's stamp on the cover of some of his books. On one side are the King's arms crowned, supported by a dragon and a greyhound, on the other the Tudor rose, surrounded with a Latin verse—"*Hæc rosa virtutis de cœlo missa sereno, Eternum florens regia sceptra feret.*" Above are the City arms, with the sun and moon, and at the bottom are his mark and initials.

Henry Pepwell appears to have been chiefly a publisher and book-seller, and is described in the will of Wynkyn de Worde (who bequeaths to him £4 in printed books) as a stationer. He resided at the sign of the Trinity in St. Paul's Churchyard, and employed several printers on the Continent. His device consisted of his name on a ribbon. By his will, dated 11th September, 1539, he appoints his wife Ursula and his children as his executors. He desires to be buried in the Church of St. Faith, beneath St. Paul's, near the high altar; and bequeaths to the parish of Bermondsey, in which he was born, a printed mass-book of five shillings value for prayers to be made for his soul. The books bearing his imprint are dated from 1520 to 1539.

Thomas Petit, whom Ames supposes to have been related to John Petit, the famous printer at Paris, lived in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Maiden's Head, and printed both for himself and for Berthelet, the King's printer. His books bear date from 1536 to 1554.

William Powell printed in London in the years 1548 and 1549, and dwelt above Holborn Conduit, where he issued four works. He was a member of the Stationers' Company, and his name appears in their charter of 1556. Powell afterwards removed to

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Dublin, where he held the office of King's Printer for Ireland, and continued to print for fifteen years.

Richard Pynson, like Wynkyn de Worde, was a workman or "servant" of Caxton, and afterwards set up a press of his own at Temple Bar. He was a native of Normandy, and was naturalized by a patent granted by King Henry VII, about 1493. He was much esteemed by the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII, and other great personages, who employed him to print for them. He also held the office of King's Printer, in which capacity he received a grant from Henry VIII of £4 annually, to be paid from the receipts of the Exchequer, during life. In this grant, which is dated 27th September, 1515, he is styled "Richard Pynson, *Esquire*, our Printer." Pynson used this title of "Esquire" in the colophon of his "Statuta," etc. His known productions number 210, and his types are clear and good; but his press work is hardly equal to that of De Worde. His first dated book was "Diues and Pauper," printed in 1493, and he continued to print until 1529 or 1531. In his later books he describes himself as living at the sign of the George, in Fleet Street, and in the parish of St. Dunstan, Fleet Street, beside the church. In 1525, Robert Redman employed and altered one of Pynson's devices, and also encroached upon his right of printing law-books, for which Pynson rated him soundly as a "scoundrel" at the end of his edition of "Lyttylton's Tenures." When their differences were composed, if at all, does not appear, but in April, 1527, Redman removed to the sign of the George in St. Clement's parish, the house which Pynson had quitted; and, in 1532, he also removed to Pynson's house next to St. Dunstan's Church.

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John Rastell was born in London, and received a liberal education. He was the author of numerous theological and legal works. He was an intimate friend of Sir Thomas More, whose sister he married. In 1517, he set up a printing press "at the sign of the Mermaid at Powl's gate, next Cheapside." Thirty-two books issued from his press between the years 1517 and 1536. He died at London in the latter year, leaving two sons, William and John; he was succeeded in his business by John Gough. The most celebrated of his printed books is "The past tyme of people," published in 1529, with many excellent wood-cuts.

William Rastell, son of the above, was born and educated in London. In 1525 he was sent to Oxford, at the age of seventeen, but left without taking a degree. He afterwards studied at Lincoln's Inn, and in 1547 became reader of that house. During the changes of religion in the reign of Edward VI, Rastell left England and went to the University of Louvain in Brabant. He returned on the accession of Mary, and in 1554 was made serjeant-at-law; in July, 1555–6, he was appointed a Commissioner for "a severe way of proceeding against heretics" and, shortly before the Queen's death, one of the Justices in the Court of Common Pleas. He received a renewal of his patent as a Justice of the Queen's Bench from Queen Elizabeth, in 1559, but once more retired to Louvain, where he died on August 27th, 1565. He was the printer of fifteen books, published at his house in St. Bride's Churchyard, Fleet Street, between the years 1531 and 1534.

Thomas Raynald was a printer of some merit, who lived first in the Wardrobe, in St. Andrew's parish,

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and, in 1549, kept shop at the sign of the Star in St. Paul's Churchyard. Nothing is known of his personal history. Twenty-two works from his press are extant, printed between 1540 and 1551. The first of these is "The Byrth of Mankynde," 1540, which is curious as containing the earliest specimens of copper-plate printing known in this country. The authorship of this work has been assigned to Raynald, but without sufficient justification.

John Redman printed Cicero's "Paradoxes" for Robert Redman in 1540, and was sole printer of "The Genealogye of Heresye," in 1542. His printing house was in Paternoster Row, at the sign of Our Lady of Pity.

Robert Redman, whose dispute with Pynson has been noticed above, printed his first book in 1523. As already stated, he occupied in succession both of Pynson's printing offices, but no explanation of this course is obtainable. His only answer to Pynson's angry complaints was a passage from St. Paul, "If God be with us who is against us?" He died in 1540, and by his will, dated the 21st of October of that year, it appears that he left a widow (Elizabeth) and children. The works from his press are very numerous, and bear date from 1523 to 1540.

Elizabeth Redman carried on the business of her husband, Robert Redman, and printed seven books in and subsequently to 1540, with her name and the same devices as those used by her husband. The colophon of "Ordynaries," printed by her in 1551, is as follows:—"Jmprinted at London, in Flete Strete, by me, Elysabeth Pykerynge, late wyfe to Robert Redman, dwellynge at the sygne of the George nexte saynt Dunstone's churche." Herbert says that the

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widow Redman afterwards married Ralph Cholmondeley, Esquire.

John Reynes was an eminent printer, bookseller, and bookbinder, who dwelt at the sign of the George, in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1527, and perhaps earlier. A few books are said to have been printed by him, and others for him by Peter Treveris and other printers. But there are many more books that have his marks and pretty devices on their covers. The date of his death is unknown. Herbert could not discover any of his works subsequent to the year 1544. Cawood, who was "servant" to Reynes, paid for two new glass windows in Stationers' Hall (the one for John Reynes, his master, and the other for himself). In an inventory of the Company's effects, taken in 1561, it appears that they possessed paintings, both of John Reynes and John Cawood. The typographical devices of Reynes were two small shields, with his initials and his monogram. These are introduced in a large design which he embossed upon the covers of his books, consisting of what are usually called "The arms of Christ." Beneath the arms, which are supported by two unicorns, is a scroll, bearing the motto "Redemptoris mundi arma," in rude Saxon capitals.

Anthony Scoloker printed in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, also in the Savoy rents near Temple Bar, and afterwards at Ipswich. His books, many of which are printed jointly by him and William Seres, bear date from 1548 to 1550.

William Seres was chiefly associated in his work with other printers, and principally with John Day, Anthony Scoloker, Richard Kele and William Hill. He is described as a "servant" of Sir William Cecil,

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and, through the Secretary's influence, he obtained the sole privilege of printing all the Psalters, all manner of primers, English and Latin, and all manner of prayer books. This licence was taken away from him by Queen Mary, but restored by her successor, with the addition of the same grant to him and his son during the life of the longest liver. The latter provision occasioned a great outcry against these monopolies, for Seres, the father, in his later years, not being able to follow his business, assigned his privilege (about the year 1583), with all his presses, letters, stock-in-trade, and copies, to Henry Denham, for a yearly rent. Denham took seven young men of the Company of Stationers to join him in the work; but some of the poorer members of the Company infringed upon the patent by printing editions of the restricted books. They also petitioned the Privy Council for the abolition of the monopoly. Seres, on the other hand, stoutly maintained his claim in a counter petition, and the matter was finally settled by a friendly agreement, by which those who had privileges undertook to grant some allowances to the Company of Stationers for the maintenance of their charges and their poor. Seres was one of the oldest liverymen of the Stationers' Company, and five times served the office of Master. He first lived on Snow Hill, near the house of John Day. In 1548, when connected with Anthony Scoloker, he lived in Savoy Rents, and in Ely Rents without Aldersgate, whence he removed, in 1539, to Peter College, and finally to the sign of the Hedgehog, both in St. Paul's Churchyard. His device was a monogram within an oval.

Hugh Singleton was a man of unsettled principles, and was frequently brought into collision with the

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authorities. He occupied at various times four different shops, in Thames Street, Creed Lane, St. Paul's Churchyard, and Christ's Hospital. In 1556–7 he was authorised with Thomas Purfoot to search for unlicensed and disorderly books, for which he received various payments from the Stationers' Company. He was frequently in financial difficulties and summoned before the Company for debt; and in 1579 he narrowly escaped the loss of his right hand for printing Stubbs's "Discovery of a Gaping Gulf." Singleton was acquitted, but the unfortunate author and William Page, the publisher, were condemned to suffer this barbarous punishment. He was appointed to the office of printer to the City of London in 1584, and died between July, 1592, and July, 1593. He obtained, between 1561 and 1587, licences to print various works, chiefly of a theological character. His device was a rebus, representing a single tun, with a monogram above it upon a shield surrounded by the motto—"God is my helper."

John Skot, or Scot, is supposed by Ames to have learned the art of printing from Wynkyn de Worde or Richard Pynson, on account of the similarity which appears in their devices. He first printed in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, afterwards in St. Paul's Churchyard, and later still in Foster Lane. Thirteen books from his press are known, issued between 1521 and 1537. Skot employed three devices, one of them being his monogram, upon a shield in a rectangular frame; the two others he adopted and altered from the marks of Denis Roche, a French printer, who flourished about 1490.

Anthony Smyth printed in 1548, and was a member

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of the Stationers' Company in the year 1556, when their new charter was granted.

Henry Smyth was living at the sign of the Holy Trinity, without Temple Bar, in 1540. Ames states that he was son-in-law to Robert Redman. He printed seven books, amongst which were an edition of Littleton's "Tenures," "The Justice of the Peace," and others, chiefly on law.

Edward Sutton printed at the sign of the Cradle, in Lombard Street, from 1553 to 1562, and is on the list of members of the Stationers' Company in their charter granted to them in 1556.

Henry Sutton lived at the sign of the Black Boy, in Paternoster Row, and printed between the years 1553 and 1562. During the reign of Queen Mary he was associated with John Kingston, especially in printing Romish church-books.

John Tisdale was an original member of the Stationers' Company, and printed between the years 1550 and 1563. He lived first in Smithfield, then in Knightrider Street, next at the Eagle's Foot in All-hallows Churchyard Lombard Street, and afterwards printed with John Charlewood, in Holborn Conduit.

Richard Tottell, Tothill, or Totle, lived at the Hand-and-Star, in Fleet Street, within Temple Bar. He held the sole licence to print works of the common law for seven years, granted in the seventh year of Edward VI. This was continued in the second and third of Philip and Mary, and granted to him for life by Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign. Tottell was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1578, and was in business for the long period of forty years, during which he printed 78 works, chiefly on law. His health declining, he retired into the country,

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when his son carried on the business for him. His device is that of a circle containing a star held by a hand; on either side is a scroll containing the words "*Cum privilegio.*"

John Toye is only known as a printer by one work, dated 1531, entitled, "*Gradus comparationum cum verbis*, etc." The colophon is—"Imprinted at London, in Poule's Chyrche yard, at the sygne of Saynte Nycolas, by me, John Toye." John Skot's device is at the end.

Robert Toye dwelt at the sign of the Bell, in St. Paul's Churchyard. After his death, in 1556, his widow succeeded him in the business. He is known to have printed nine works between the years 1541 and 1556.

Elizabeth Toye, widow of the above, appears to have been a very singular character. Unfortunately, very little information concerning her has been preserved. She chiefly printed ballads, the titles of which are given by Ames, though the originals have disappeared. Widow Toye was a member of the Stationers' Company, and contributed to all their dues, and their public dinners. She also paid for one of the windows in the hall, and her name is commemorated in a list of benefactors still remaining in the hall. In 1558, she had sole licence to print a catechism in Latin. In 1560 she presented the Company with a new table cloth and a dozen napkins, and left them a bequest of £4, which was paid by her son Humphrey in 1569.

Peter Treveris was the first printer in Southwark, and his work is beautifully executed. He also printed for John Reynes, and Lawrence Andrew, and sold books for William Rastell. Twenty-seven productions of his press are known, issued between 1514 and 1535.

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He lived at the sign of the Wodows, which Herbert suggests may mean Wodehomes or wild men, in allusion to his device of Adam and Eve, who are represented as wild people and covered with hair. One of his earliest works was the second edition of Arnold's "Customs of London," 1521, the first edition of which was printed at Antwerp by John Doesborowe. This rare and curious book contains the well-known ballad of "The nut-brown maid." In 1527, he printed Higden's "Polychronicon" in folio, with a splendid engraved title-page, which surpassed the efforts of all earlier English printers.

Christopher Truthall. This is supposed to be the feigned name of a printer who describes himself as of Suffolk. Several books bearing his imprint appeared in Queen Mary's reign, chiefly from 1555 to 1556, and written against the Roman Catholic religion. In 1557, one Thomas Green, a servant of John Wayland the printer, was imprisoned and whipped at the Greyfriars by Dr. Story, for being concerned in printing a book called "Antichrist." Green confessed that John Bean, apprenticed to R. Tottle, had one copy also. The book bears the imprint of Christopher Truthall. Green's master, John Wayland, lived in Fleet Street, so that probably the locality as well as the name of this printer were assumed.

John Turk kept a shop at the sign of the Cock in St. Paul's churchyard, and appears as a member of the Stationers' Company in their charter of 1556.

William Tyll or Tilly, lived in the parish of St. Ann and Agnes within Aldersgate, where he printed a quarto edition of the New Testament.

Abraham Vele was originally a member of the Drapers' Company, but was afterwards admitted to

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the Company of Stationers, by whom he was several times fined. He lived at the sign of the Lamb in St. St. Paul's Churchyard, and printed twenty-four works between the years 1548 and 1586.

John Wayland was a scrivener as well as a printer, and lived at the sign of the Blue Garland, in Fleet Street, afterwards removing to the sign of the Sun, over against the Conduit in the same street. He calls himself "Allowed printer," which Ames attributes to his having obtained a patent from Queen Mary for printing prayer books, etc., dated 24th October, 1553. Bagford says that he had another patent for seven years, dated 26th July, 1557. Wayland printed twenty-seven works between the years 1537 and 1558.

Edward Whitchurch was originally a merchant, and afterwards joined Richard Grafton in printing an English version of the Bible. By means of a letter from Henry VIII they obtained permission to print their Bible at the University of Paris, where better workmen were to be found than in England. This is known as "The Great Bible," of 1539. After they had printed the last sheet, suspicion of heresy fastened upon them, and with Coverdale, the corrector, they fled for safety to England, leaving behind them the entire edition of 2,500 copies. Venturing, however, again to Paris, they secured their presses, and brought back workmen with them to England, where the edition was completed and issued. The partnership appears to have lasted until 1541, in which year they were both in trouble on account of the Act of the Six Articles. Whitchurch lived first at the Well-and-Two-Buckets, in St. Martin's-le-grand, next in the churchyard of St. Mary Alder-

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mary, and lastly at the sign of the Sun in Fleet Street. His last printed book is dated 1560.

Reginald Wolf lived at the sign of the Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was a learned man, a good antiquary, a great promoter of the Reformation, and enjoyed the favour of King Henry VIII, Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Archbishop Cranmer, and other eminent persons. He held the office of King's Printer, and was the first who enjoyed a patent for printing Latin, Greek, and Hebrew works. He spent twenty-five years in collecting materials for a Universal Cosmogony, which, though left unarranged at his death, formed the foundation of Holinshed's "Chronicles." In 1558 he was master of the Stationers' Company. No less than 62 books bear his imprint, dating from 1542 to 1573. His widow succeeded him in business.

Wynkyn de Worde was born at Lorraine. He was Caxton's chief assistant, and in 1491 succeeded to his press and materials at Westminster. Here he remained for at least six years. In 1496 he opened a second shop in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Sun. He printed as many as 488 books between 1493 and 1534. He was, like Caxton, a man of learning, and introduced many improvements in the art of printing as practised in England. He founded his own types, which were of beautiful design, and his books are noted for the excellence of their press-work. He was the first printer who introduced the Roman letter into England, and made use of it to distinguish anything remarkable.

John Wyer lived in Fleet Street, a little above the Conduit. The only work from his press now known is "The Ymage of both Churches," printed in 1550.

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Robert Wyer was one of the most prolific of the English printers of the 16th century. Most of his books are without date, and of a fugitive and popular character. His printing, for the most part, is exceedingly rude, but some of his books in "foreign secretary Gothic" and "large lower-case Gothic" types are very well executed. Wyer lived at the sign of St. John the Evangelist, in the Bishop of Norwich's Rents, beside Charing Cross. He printed from 1527 to 1550.

Time does not allow me, even if it were within the scope of my present purpose, to speak of the quartos of our great dramatist and other priceless gems of our literature produced in the 17th and 18th centuries under the shadow of the Cathedral, nor of the lamentable loss to literature through the Great Fire of London, when the stock of the printers and booksellers, stored in the vaults under St. Paul's, was entirely consumed through their unfortunate haste to regain possession of their property. Although the Cathedral is not now the immediate centre of the printing trade, its shadow falls upon the mightiest enterprises in literature that the world has ever seen, and the light shed forth from the literary activities which take their concrete form in Paternoster Row illumines the most distant portions of the habitable globe.

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MERCERS' SCHOOL, COLLEGE HILL.

ERECTED 1829.

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MERCERS' SCHOOL.

BY

JOHN WATNEY, Esq., F.S.A.,

Vice-President.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held in the School on College Hill, on the 19th November, 1895.

MERCERS' School is one of the oldest schools in London, and is of Royal foundation, which only one other school in the City of London can boast. It has, however, been eclipsed by the larger and wealthier foundation of Dean Colet, which was placed by him under the patronage of the Mercers' Company.

Carlisle, in his "Endowed Grammar Schools," writing in 1818, deploring the want of a panegyrist to record its merits, compares it in that respect to ancient Rome.

"Ancient Rome," according to Sallust, "was great, victorious and illustrious, but its mighty deeds were not gracefully recorded nor richly emblazoned. The same fatality has attended Mercers' School. It as yet has found no panegyrist to transmit its merits to posterity."

In the reign of King Henry II, there were famous schools attached to three principal churches in London, with others of less note attached to other churches or parishes. The names of the churches are not given by the chronicler but it is very probable that one of the schools was kept by the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon from the time of its foundation about the year 1190, or, at any rate shortly afterwards, and that in that school,

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many of the youths of London were taught in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

However this may have been, there is no doubt that a school was founded in the Hospital of St. Thomas, in the reign of Henry VI, on the decay of the grammar schools, which before that time existed in London and the country. Everything of earlier antiquity is perhaps a little hazy, but it is, as I have said, highly probable that it was not the first school carried on on the same site and under the same auspices. How far the Mercers' Company were connected with it I should not like to say, but, if the tradition be well founded, that Dean Colet and Sir Thomas Gresham received part of their education in it, it is extremely probable that this was so. It is quite certain, however, that it belonged to a class of grammar schools, whose history will probably, in these times when antiquities are being more searched into than they used to be, become better known than it is now. The Grammar Schools with which we all are familiar are those which were endowed in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth out of funds arising from dissolved Chantries or Monasteries, or from the benevolence of private individuals, and the impression exists that this was the original of grammar schools. I venture to think that this is a mistake. Not only does the history at an earlier time of the Mercers' School, and the schools which preceded or existed side by side with it, show that grammar schools were well known previous to the Reformation, but there is abundant proof that schools of the same character existed, and were carried on very efficiently and produced very great men, throughout the middle ages.

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In the year 1447, a petition was presented to King Henry VI by the Rectors of the parishes of All Hallows the Great, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Peter Cornhill, and St. Mary Colechurch, praying that grammar schools might be erected in their several parishes. The rector of St. Mary Colechurch was John Neel, the Master of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, which stood where Mercers' Hall now is, and with which the Mercers' Company were intimately connected. The petition is in the following terms:—

"To the ful worthy and discrete Communes in this present Parliament assembled; Please it unto the full wise and discrete Communes in this present Parliament assembled to considre the grete nombre of Gramer Scholes that sometyme were in divers Parties of this Realme, beside those that were in London, and how fewe ben in these Dayes, and the grete Hurt that is caused of this, not only in the Spirituell Partie of the Chirche, where oftentyme it apperith openly in som Persones with grete shame, but also in the Temprell Partie, to whom also it is full expedient to have competent congruite for manie causes as to your Wisdomes apperith. And forasmuche as to the Cite of London is the common concours of this Land, wherein is grete multitude of young people not only born and brought forth in the same Cite, but also of many other parties of this lond, som for lake of Schole Maistres in their owne Contree, for to be enfourmed of Gramer there, and som for the grete Almesse of Lordes, Merchaunts, and other, the which is in London more plenteuously doon than in manie other Places of this Realme, to such pouere Creatures as never shuld have be brought to so grete vertu and Connyng as thei have ne had hit been by the meane of the Alme abovesaid; Wherfore it were expedynt, that in London were a sufficeant nomber of Scholes, and good Enfourmers in Gramer; and not, for the singular availl of two or three Persones, grevously to hurt the Multitude of yonge People of all this Land; For where there is grete nombre of Lerners, and few Techers; and all the Lerners be compelled to go to the few Techers, and to noon other, the Maistres wexen riche of Monie, and the Lerners pouere in Connyng, as Experyence openlie shewith, agenst all vertue and ordre of wele publik. And these Premises moven and sturen of grete Devocion and Pitee, Maistre William

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Lyechefeld, Parson of the Parich Chirche of Al Hallowen the More in London; Maistre Gilbert, Parson of Seint Andrewe Holbourne, in the Suburbs of the said Citee, Maistre John Cole, Parson of Seint Petre, in Cornhul of London, and John Neel, Maistre of the Hous or Hospital of Seint Thomas of Acres, and Parson of Colchirche in London, to compleyne unto you, and for Remedie besechyn you, to pray the Kyng our Soveraign Lord, that he bi the Advys and Assent of the Lords Spirituell and Temporell in this present Parliament assembled, and bi authoritie of the same Parliament, will provide, ordeyne and graunt to the said Maistre Lyechefeld and his successors, that they in the said Parish of Al Hallowen, to the said Maistre Gilbert and his successors, that they in the said Parish of Saint Andrew, to the said Maistre John and his successors, that they in the said Parish of Seint Petre, and to the said John Maistre of the said Hospital and to his successors, that they within the foresaid Parish of our Ladie of Colchirch, in the which the said House of St. Thomas is sette; may ordeyne, create, establish and set a person sufficientlie lerned in Gramer, to hold and exercise a Schole in the same Science of Gramer, and it there to teche to al that will lerne; And that everiche of the said Maistres, Maister William, Maister Gilbert, Maister John, and John Neel, Maistre, such Schole Maistre, so bi him sette, and everiche of theire Successors, suche Schole-Maistre bi him, or bi any of his Predecessors so established and sette, specially as is above rehercid, may in his oun Parish or place remove, and another in his Place substitute and sett, as often as to ony of the said Parsones or their Successors semith that cause reasonable so requireth: And so to do, iche of the said Parsones and their sucessors, as offten as it happenyth any of the said Scholes to be voyd of a Schole Maistre in ony maner wyse, to the Honour of God and encreasyng of virtue."

The answer to the petition was that

"The Kyng wille that it be doone as it is desired, so that it be doone bi the advyse of the Ordinary, otherelles of the Archbishope of Canterbury for the tyme beyng."

Thus a Grammar School was established by Act of Parliament in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch,

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under the superintendence of the Master of St. Thomas, as the Parson of that parish, and agreeably to the ancient practice of holding schools in churches.

Within a few years after the presentation of the above petition, five other schools were set up in other churches in London, by the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, viz.: one within the churchyard of St. Paul, a second at the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's le Grand, another at St. Mary de Arcubus (Bow Church, in Cheapside), another at St. Dunstan's in the East, and a fifth at the Hospital of St. Anthony. This was done, says old Stow, to check and suppress other smaller schools of late set up by ignorant and illiterate grammar masters, which did the youth more harm than good, as the King's letters patent did hint. All these ancient schools had, in Stow's time, long since been dissolved and had vanished, except St. Anthony's, which outlasted the rest, but better were established in their room.

St. Anthony's School was situate in Broad Street ward, in the parish of St. Benet Fink, near the place where St. Augustine's Church now stands. It was large and fair, and before St. Paul's School was founded was of the chiefest account in London, and many eminent scholars were bred up in it, of whom Sir Thomas More was one. The school was part of the Hospital of St. Anthony of Vienne, in France, which King Edward IV annexed and appropriated to the Collegiate Church of Windsor, with all the estates thereto belonging. The revenue of the school had, in Stow's time, been embezzled, and it had come to nothing, although it was in being at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, when one Hilton, a grave and

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good man, was Master. I think that Mercers' School may therefore claim to be the oldest school now existing in London.

The school of St. Thomas of Acon is stated to have been kept in the Parish Church of St. Mary Colechurch in the Old Jewry, of which the Master of the Hospital or College of St. Thomas of Acon was the Rector, and the Master and Brethren were the Impropriate Rectors, and the school was maintained until the Hospital was dissolved and its property surrendered to King Henry VIII in the year 1538.

The Mercers' Company, who, as I have elsewhere shewn, were very intimately connected with this religious house, applied to the Crown for liberty to purchase the church and mansion which had belonged to it, together with other houses in the neighbourhood, and in November, 1539, it was ordered by the Company that Sir John Alleyn, Sir Raufe Warren, Sir Richard Gresham and Sir Thomas Kytson, aldermen, William Wilkynson and Richard Raynolds, aldermen's peers, and John Coke, Robert Palmer, William Lokke, Richard Jervyes, and Rollande Hill, assistants, should sue unto my Lord Privy Seal (Cromwell) for the purchase of the church and the houses about the same. Sir Richard Gresham moved the Lord Privy Seal accordingly, and at a Court held on the 15th March, 1539,

"The Company were duly minded for to follow the assent of the same, and referred all that matter to the wisdom and discretion of the Lord Mayor (Sir William Holles, a Mercer), and the worshipful aldermen, wardens and assistants, to do therein what they thought good, and whatsoever they did therein, the Company to be therewith content."

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The negotiations between the King and the Company were eventually successful, for the King by letters patent under the great seal of the Court of Augmentations, dated the 21st April, 1541, to the praise of God and the increase of divine worship, and of the men of the mystery of Mercery of the City of London and their better sustentation, and also in consideration of £969 17*s.* 6*d.* sterling, being twenty years' purchase, paid to the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations by the wardens and commonalty of the mystery of the Mercery of the City of London, did grant to the said wardens and commonalty the reversion of certain premises at annual rents, and also the church, within the said City of London, lately called the Church of the said late College of Acon, London, then dissolved (such church in future to be called for ever the Church of the Mercers of his City of London, to the honour of God and the blessed Virgin Mary dedicated and founded), and the cloister and chapter house of the same late College adjoining the cloister, and the churchyard of the said late College, and the ornaments and implements of the said church and cloister, and all the lead thereupon, and the whole land and soil within the precinct of the cloister, and also four messuages and tenements in the several tenures of Robert Bevycote, Richard Brymyngham, William Toweres and Thomas Forge or their assigns, situate in the parish of St. Olave, in the Old Jewry, London; and certain other messuages in the parish of the Blessed Mary of Colechurch, including the Tavern called the Mitre, in Cheapside, and also the Rectory and Church of the Blessed Mary of Colechurch, and the advowson, donation and free disposition and right of patronage of the rectory and vicarage of

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the same, and all houses, tithes, oblations, etc., to the same rectory and church belonging; and also a messuage or tenement late in the tenure of Sir Thomas More, knight, or his assigns, in the parish of St. Stephen, Walbroke, London; and also a great messuage in the tenure of Sir Ralph Warren, knight, or his assigns, in the parish of St. Stephen, Walbroke; and also other messuages in the parishes of St. Martin in Ironmonger Lane, and St. Stephen in Coleman Street, London, as fully and entirely and in as ample manner and form as the master and brethren of the said late House or College of Acon, or any of their predecessors in the right of the same house or college, had the same at any time before the dissolution of the same, or before that late house or college came to the hands of the King.

An indenture of bargain and sale was entered into between the King and the Mercers' Company on the same day as the above mentioned conveyance, viz., the 21st April, 1541, whereby, after reciting that the said King, of his mere motion and benevolent grace, to the laud of God and the maintenance of the said Mercers, and for the sum of £969 17*s.* 6*d.*, had granted to the use of the said wardens and commonalty and their successors for ever, the Church of Acon, within the City of London, lately called the Church of the College of Acon, with certain appurtenances thereto, together with the Church of St. Mary Colechurch, and certain other premises, it was agreed, in consideration of the King having granted the petition of the said wardens and commonalty, that they should find three priests and chaplains, to be called the Mercers' Chaplains, to sing and say masses and other divine service continually in the said church, such

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priests and chaplains on their admission to be sworn and charged upon pain of losing their service, that they should in their masses pray to God for the King and all his progeny for ever. And the Company further covenanted, at their own cost and charge, to find and keep a free grammar school within the City of London perpetually, and also a sufficient Master to teach twenty-five children and scholars freely, continuously for ever; and also yearly every Sunday in Lent to provide a learned man to preach a sermon in the Mercers' Church for ever, the Company to have the governance of the church and the power of appointing and dismissing the said priests, chaplains and schoolmaster.

Under this agreement with King Henry VIII, Mercers' School was established as a free grammar school in the City of London for twenty-five scholars. It was first opened at Michaelmas, 1542, one Thomas Freeman being the first Master, and appears to have been at first kept in the Church of the Hospital of St. Thomas, called the Mercers' Church, and afterwards in an adjoining Schoolhouse erected by the Company, or in the Chapel under the Hall, thus acquiring the name of the Mercers' Chapel School.

In the year 1549 when Freeman had been appointed to the High Mastership of St. Paul's School (an office which he held for ten years), the Wardens and Alderman Jervis were ordered to get lettered and learned men to dispute and argue learning with the approved candidate and to admit him, if found meet. Thomas Prince accordingly appeared before three of the Wardens and Alderman Jervis,

"and one Mr. Palgrave, Preste, and one Mr. Swerder, Gentleman, associated together with Mr. Wardeins, and in open presence here in

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the perlour with the said Thomas Prynce (had) arguements and profounde questions of learnynge both in the Latten and Greke tounges, and after due comunication, with good approbacion of the same Prince in the depnes of his learnynge, who shewed hym to be verrye well learned, not only by the dysputaciones thereof, but also a man bothe of qualyte and persone as also in lernynge meate and abell to teache in any place, he was declared a meate man for the rome,"

and admitted by the Wardens to be Schoolmaster during the Company's pleasure.

The salary of the Mercers' Schoolmaster was at first but £10 a year; but Freeman and Prince obtained permission for the augmentation of their incomes to take fifteen private scholars in addition to the twenty-five taught gratis. This practice was, however, prohibited in Prince's time, and he resigned. I. Gonalwyn, Dr. Gammounde, Sir Thomas Shackspeare, Sir Thomas Augustine, and William Alexander rapidly succeeded; and on the resignation of Alexander, after his salary had been raised but he had been refused permission to take extra scholars, Richard Langhorne was appointed with a salary of £12 a year, and also to be the Minister in the Mercers' Church with a stipend of £8 a year.

During the mastership of Richard Martindale in 1563 both St. Paul's and Mercers' Schools were broken up on account of the Plague; and in the following year the Mercers at the exhortation of the Spital Preachers, backed by the Lord Mayor's precepts to the different Companies, founded two scholarships for a graduate at Oxford and another at Cambridge in the appointments to which it was determined that the children of Mercers should have the preference.

Richard Wilkinson, chosen Schoolmaster in 1574, was allowed to teach forty scholars, and held the

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office twenty-one years. Drewen succeeded, and in 1599 came Richard Levesley, who entered into a bond in the sum of £50 for his good carriage in the office; which he appears not to have forfeited for he continued Schoolmaster for twenty-one years, and then retired with a pension in consideration of his age and long service. He was permitted to take thirty-five private scholars, and latterly was allowed an usher. The following regulations were made for the School in his time:—

"In primis whereas the foundation of this Schole is but for twenty-five schollers to be taught in the same free, nevertheless at the humble sute of Richard Levesley, now Schoolmaster there, in regarde he kepith at his owne chardge a suficient Ussher, he is allowed to take for his benefits, dureing the Companies pleasure, thirty-five schollers more, which in all makith sixtie schollers.

"Item because the said Scholehouse is not sufficient nor able to conteyne more then the said twenty-five free schollers, it is agreed that he shall have libertie in the North Ile of the Church at the Entrey goinge up to the said Schole to teach the said thirty-five residue, provided that none of the monuments Seates Ceeling-Wainscott Walles Glasse Windowes or other thinge in the said Ile Churche or Churche porch be broken impaired or defaced by anie his said Schollers or other by any theire meanes or procurements.

"Item the said twenty-five free schollers to be especiallie Mercers' Children, and such speciallie whose parents and friends be poore, and no Mercer to have above two free schollers at one tyme, and if there be not so many Mercers children in the Schoole, then the same nomber of free schollers to be supplied by other the poorest schollers, that be towardliest in that schole.

"Item no free Scholler or other to be received or allowed in the same Schole, without the assent of the Wardeins of the said Companie or of the Renter Wardein at the least, the same allowance to be by wrytynge under his or thier handes.

"Item the said Schole Master and Ussher shall submit them and theire Schollers to be examyned once or oftner everie yere, where and when it shall please the said Master and Wardeins.

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"Item they and theire Schollers shall dulie keepe theire houres in the Schole, videlt to come at 7 in the morninge and tarry till 11, and come at 1 and tarry till 5.

"Item neither the said Master nor Ussher shal be absent from the Schole, but upon Licence had of one of the Wardens, excepte he be lett by sickness.

"Item the Schollers to use praiers in the Schole morninge and eveninge and therein mention to be made especialle of the King's Majesty and of this Companie, Founders and Patrons of the said Schole.

"Item the Scholers not to have any remedies to plaie except on Thursdaie and Hollidaie eves in the afternone of the same daies, unless it be by the Consente of one of the said Wardeins being in person in the said Schole or under his hande in writinge.

"Item the said Schole Master and Schollers to be at the Sermons in the Lent and buriall Sermons that shal be in the said Churche and suche like tymes of service there as hathe byn accustomed.

"Item whereas the Schole Master hathe allowance for aidinge and helpinge the Mynister in Service in the said Churche as hathe been accustomed, it is thoughte meete that he shall provide at his Chardge a fitt man to begyn the Psalme before and aftere everie the same Sermones.

"Item whereas some question hathe byn concernynge the pulpitt clothe at burials in the said Churche whether the same should belong to the Mynister, the Schole Master or Sexton of the same Churche. Forasmuch as in righte the same doth not belonge to any of them, but onelie to the parson, which is the Company. Wherfore it is nowe ordered and apointed that the Sexton hereafter shall see it, and the offerings there when any suche shal be, to be brought alwaies to the said Master and Wardeins, and they always to give and dispose therof in theire discretion where and to whome they shall thincke good.

"Item that the Schole Master take Order that the Scholers in their comynge and goinge to Schole nor at any other tymes do plaie either at ball or at any other Sporte in the said Churche or Church porch or use any quarellinge, fighting or making any great noise, but quietlie to passe to and from the Schole, without tarryinge or making any Abode in the said porche or boddie of the said Churche."

Nicholas Augar succeeded Levesley as Master of Mercers' School. At the election of a High Master

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of St. Paul's School on Dr. Gill's dismissal, he was a candidate but only stood second to the one elected. After twenty-four years' service he resigned the mastership of Mercers' School, and was succeeded by Samuel Cromleholme, who was elected in 1647 Sub-Master of St. Paul's School, and High Master in 1657. Robert Green came next, and dying, after he had been eight years master, was buried in Mercers' Chapel.

On Green's death Thomas Almon was elected master, with an annual allowance of £20 for teaching the scholars and assisting the Minister in the Chapel, £15 in lieu of a house, and £10 for an Usher. He appears to have been prevented by ill-health from regularly attending the school, on account of which he was dismissed, and John Bancle, or Boncle, put in his place.

By the Fire of London in 1666 the Mercers' Schoolhouse and all the neighbouring buildings were consumed. The restoration of the Royal Exchange and St. Paul's School were the first objects of the attention of the Company; but when these works had been nearly completed, they set about rebuilding Mercers' School, applying to Parliament for a grant of the site of the Parish Church of St. Mary Colechurch in the Old Jewry, for this or other purposes. The first Act for rebuilding the City (19 Car. 11. c. 3) provided that the sites of such of the parish churches, as should not be rebuilt, should be sold by the Mayor and Aldermen towards the building of the new churches or laid into the streets. The Mercers therefore applied to Parliament to obtain this site; and accordingly the additional Act for rebuilding the City (22 Car. 11. c. 11), (by which the parish of St. Mary

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Colechurch was united to that of St. Mildred in the Poultry), after reciting that the Mercers were

"seised in fee of the rectory and Parish Church impropriate of St. Mary Colechurch, the said Church being an upper room about ten feet higher than the street and lying over certain rooms and arched vaults or cellars of the said Wardens and Commonalty, upon the site of which Church they had designed to build a free school and other buildings, and to remove the dead bodies and bones of those who had been buried upon the Arches into their Chapel"

settled the site of this Church upon the Company; only providing that they should contribute towards building a church for the united parishes. A new house for the school and schoolmaster's residence was accordingly erected at the back of the site of St. Mary Colechurch in the Old Jewry. It appears to have been four stories high with the upper stories projecting, and an area behind for a playground. The school was re-opened under Mr. Boncle at Christmas, 1671.

Mercers' School was, about this time benefited, and the Master's salary (then amounting to £40 a year, including the allowance for an Usher) augmented, by the gift of Thomas Rich, who had been educated at this school. By his will, proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Essex, 21st August, 1672, Rich gave to the Master and Wardens of the Mercers' Company, after the decease of his wife, all his tenements in St. Mary Axe, on condition that they should yearly pay amongst other things two exhibitions of £6 a year each to two poor scholars taught in the Mercers' Chapel School, and thence to be sent to the University. He also devised his house and grounds at West Ham to the Company in trust (after meeting certain small payments and providing for the repairs of the house) to

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pay one moiety of the net income to the Master of Mercers' School for his better maintenance and encouragement in its management, and the education of the scholars; and to apply the other moiety to the education of poor children of Lambeth. The exhibition fund accumulated during the last and part of the present centuries, and a Scheme was made in 1882 by the Charity Commissioners for its better management, about which I shall refer to later. The house at West Ham was sold in 1844, under the compulsory powers of an Act of Parliament, to the Eastern Counties and Thames Junction Railway Company, and the purchase-money invested in Consols. Half the dividends on this stock is still paid to the Master of Mercers' School.

On the death of John Boncle, after he had been Master of Mercers' School for eighteen years, his son Seth Mountney Boncle, who had been his father's assistant, appearing able and diligent, was elected to succeed him, the Company stipulating that he should allow his mother to remain in the School house during her life. He continued Master until his death, when John Killsby was elected; and he also continued Master until his death in 1710, and was buried in Mercers' Chapel, the Company's fees being specially remitted.

William Baxter, nephew to Richard Baxter, the celebrated nonconformist, himself eminent as a scholar, a linguist, and an antiquarian, was the next Master of Mercers' School. He was born at Lanhigan in Shropshire in 1650, and when he went to Harrow at the very late age of eighteen, he could neither read nor understand one word of any language but Welsh. He soon, however, acquired much classical learning.

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His first book was a Latin Grammar, but he made his mark by his "Anacreon," published in 1695, which carried his name not only over England but into Germany and Holland. In 1701 appeared Baxter's celebrated "Horace," which Bishop Louth pronounced "the very best edition of 'Horace' ever yet delivered to the World." He was appointed Master of Mercers' School on the 28th April, 1710, having previously kept a boarding school at Tottenham High Cross. In 1719 he published his Dictionary of British Antiquities under a title of "Glossarium Antiquitatum Britanicarum sive Syllabus Etymologicus Antiquitatum veteris Britanniæ atque Iberniæ temporibus Romanorum." The work was published by the Rev. Moses Williams, when the author was in his 69th year. To the same editor we owe Baxter's posthumous work, a glossary or dictionary of Roman antiquities, under the title of "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ sive W. Baxteri opera posthuma." It, unfortunately, only went through the letter A, but there is a fragment of the life of the author, written by himself, accompanying it. Baxter is said also to have been versed in the British, Irish, Northern, Eastern, Greek, and Latin tongues. But, notwithstanding his scholarship, Mercers' School decayed under his management, and in 1721 only four or five scholars remained, whereupon the Company, attributing the decay of the school to his great age and infirmity, induced him to retire on being paid his full salary during life; and he soon afterwards died on the 31st May, 1723.

Robert Swinburne succeeded Baxter, but without salary during Baxter's life. He was elected to hold the office only till the next St. Paul's School Apposition day, on which he was to resign, or his place was

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to be declared vacant; but if he discharged himself to the satisfaction of the Company, the Apposition Court were empowered to re-elect him for one year, and so on. For many years after this the master was elected only from year to year. A similar practice, grounded on an ordinance of Dean Colet, had prevailed as to the High Master of St. Paul's School, and the decay of Mercers' School under Baxter probably suggested its adoption with regard to the master of this school. Swinburne appears to have been re-elected annually until his death in 1729, when the Rev. Christopher Morrison succeeded him. In his time the prayers of Mercers' School appear to have been altered from Latin into English by the Company's desire. One of the prayers was as follows:—

"O almighty and merciful Father, maker of Heaven and Earth, who, of Thy goodness and mercy, givest grace, wisdom, and understanding to all that ask it of Thee in the full assurance of faith, deliver us this day from every evil, sanctify our thoughts and intentions, enlighten our minds and give unto us wisdom and understanding, not only to comprehend those things which may be for our present happiness and welfare, but also with full purpose of heart to abide and persevere in the same, so that, increasing daily in godliness, wisdom, and righteousness of life, we may glorify Thy holy name, and finally obtain Thy everlasting blessings, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

On his preferment to the living of Tottenham he was dismissed from the office of schoolmaster, the Company at that time considering the mastership of Mercers' School incompatible with the cure of souls.

The Rev. John Brown was the next master. In the year 1743, on his objecting to admit a scholar who

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had not been taught Latin, on the ground that at a free grammar school only Latin and Greek should be taught, the Company determined that he was bound to teach all whom they chose to send either Latin or English, especially as he then had several English scholars, and had caused to be written over the door in gold letters that English, Latin, and Greek were there taught. Not long after this it was determined that, according to ancient usage, the Renter Warden should have the appointment of the twenty-five scholars of Mercers' School. Brown continued master until he died in 1771, having held the office for thirty-three years.

On the death of Brown, the Rev. John Waterhouse was elected Master, and was soon afterwards appointed the Company's Chaplain; thus the offices of School Master and Chaplain were again held together. At this time it was ordered that the scholars should be publicly examined every year previous to the Master's re-election. Waterhouse held the Mastership until 1804, when he died, after thirty-three years' service. In his time the Master's salary was gradually augmented from £40 to £100 a year, and besides an annual gratuity of £50 was added from the year 1800 on account of the high price of provisions, making up, with the moiety of the income of Rich's estate, an income of about £160 per annum.

The principal event during Waterhouse's mastership was the removal of the school from the Old Jewry, which was widened in the year 1785, the buildings to the West and North of it, including Mercers' School, being taken down. The school was then temporarily removed to No. 13, Budge Row, a house belonging to the Company. The school

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continued in Budge Row until shortly before the death of Mr. Waterhouse, when, the house being in a dilapidated state, the school was removed for a time to a house opposite St. Antholin's Church in Watling Street. On the death of Mr. Waterhouse, the school was suspended for a time, and while the Company were considering whether they should repair the house in Budge Row, or build a new school house, an adjoining house took fire, and the house in Budge Row was burnt down.

On the death of Waterhouse the Rev. Isaac Hill, who had been for some years second Master of St. Paul's School, was chosen Master of Mercers' School, also succeeding Mr. Waterhouse in the office of the Mercers' Chaplain. By desire of the Company he hired temporary rooms at 20, Red Lion Court, Watling Street, and there re-opened the school on the 13th August, 1804, with only one scholar, but on an extended system. Although English appears to have been taught in the school from 1743, or perhaps earlier, yet the masters had actually taught little but Latin or Greek, so that the teaching was insufficient for the instruction of children destined for mercantile pursuits, while it wanted advantages to make it desirable for those who were studying for the learned professions. Thus the school, according to Carlisle, was so little in request, that not one of the former scholars claimed re-admission at its re-opening. But "It has now," he writes, "endeavoured to meet the wants and improvements of the times, and to institute a school which should comprehend in itself both the ornamental and the useful part of education, and so to prepare youth for any or every department of life, whether literary or mercantile."

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In the year 1803 the Company determined that a master should be appointed to teach writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts, attending in the afternoons of four days in every week, at a salary of £80 a year; that the salary of the Head Master should be raised to £120 a year; that the admission of scholars should be in the Master and Wardens for the time being, and that they should be requested to undertake the management and ordering of the school.

John Wills, who, as Lord Selborne said at the opening of the new school in Barnard's Inn, taught him writing, was accordingly chosen Writing Master, and the school was opened upon the extended system. The mornings were now appropriated to the Greek and Roman classics, and the afternoons to writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts.

Under this system the school was soon filled with scholars. In the year 1808 it was removed from Red Lion Court to a house (nearly on the site of Whittington's House and College) on College Hill; and shortly afterwards the number of free scholars was increased to thirty-five, and the salaries of the Masters were augmented. In 1814, on the presentation of a book called "Enchiridion Lyricum" by Mr. Hill, the sum of £10 a year was ordered to be laid out in books for the school, thus laying the foundation of a useful library much prized by the scholars.

In 1820 it was ordered that £10 a year should be given to the scholars in rewards, £6 to be distributed by the Master, and £4 by the Writing Master, and the rules for the governance of the school were placed on a board in a conspicuous part of the school-room.

About the year 1820 the school-house at College Hill was repaired by the Mercers' Company, and soon

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afterwards the Company, believing that the system of education pursued in the school was well calculated to produce the greatest benefit to the boys who had the happiness to be placed there, and seeing that the two masters were diligent and faithful in the discharge of their duties, while the applications by parents to obtain admission for their children were much beyond what could be accommodated there, determined to build a new school-house. Mr. Smith, the Company's Surveyor, was ordered to prepare a plan and estimate for the building, and a new school was erected at a cost of between £4,000 and £5,000. The school was carried on during the rebuilding at a house on St. Peter's Hill, Doctors' Commons, and on the 6th June, 1832, the new school-house on College Hill was opened by the Master and Wardens, with much ceremony, an appropriate address and orations being delivered by the scholars, many of the parents of the boys, with other visitors, attending. The new school-house was a Doric edifice, occupying about 58 feet of frontage on College Hill, by 110 feet in depth, including a school-room, in which we are now assembled, large enough for seventy scholars. It was built upon columns, like the then existing St. Paul's School, over an open paved area used as a playground, with an adjoining residence for the Head Master.

Having traced the history of Mercers' School so far, perhaps I may be pardoned a little digression, considering the place in which we are assembled. On this spot Sir Richard Whittington, famous in the history of the City, and four times Mayor of London, lived. This is not the place to repeat the nursery tale of Whittington and his cat, nor his

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charitable gifts to the City, from which he derived his fortune, nor his honesty and public spirit in the office of Mayor, evidenced by his prosecution of the London brewers for forestalling malt and selling dear ale, for which interference with their proceedings, as we may well imagine, the brewers were very wrath with him. These, and many more incidents in his career, may well be left to the chronicler. Here, as I have said, Whittington lived, and here he died about March, 1422-23, and was buried in the adjoining church under a fair monument. In the reign of Edward VI, Thomas Mountain, Master of Whittington College and Rector of the Church, is said, to his shame, to have taken up Whittington's body in the expectation of finding treasure with it, and, disappointed in that expectation, to have stripped it of its leaden sheet. In the reign of Mary, the parishioners were compelled to wrap him in lead again and restore his monument, and a goodly monument of white marble was afterwards set up. Thus his remains rested after being thrice buried, till the Fire of London destroyed the church. Since that time his monument has never been restored, nor is there stone or inscription to mark where the ashes of this merchant prince rest. In the original epitaph he is called Richardus Albificans Villam, Flos Mercatorum. Perhaps the punning Latin translation of his name may have stirred him or his executors to many of the good works which he, and they at his behest, carried out.

Whittington rebuilt the Church of St. Michael and founded the College of Priests in it, and the Almshouse which for many centuries adjoined it, obtaining a license for the foundation of the College in the 11th year of Henry IV., and from the City in the

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following year a vacant site for its erection. Both these foundations he directed should be finished by his executors.

His executors obtained a Royal license on the 12th May, 1423, to pull down and rebuild the Prison of Newgate, which was then decayed and was so small and infected that many prisoners died in it. They built or repaired the two City conduits, contributed largely to the building of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and of the Guildhall, and jointly with the executors of William Barry, built a handsome library for the Corporation of London, and jointly with Dr. Winchelsey a magnificent library for the Grey Friars.

Their chief works, however, in the opinion of the Mercers' Company, were the foundation of the College and Almshouse. By Letters patent, dated 18th November, 3 Henry VI., 1424, they obtained the King's license to found the College and Almshouse. They also obtained the license of Archbishop Chichele, and from the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, a grant of the right of nominating the Master of Whittington College to the Rectory of the Church of St. Michael.

They founded, by deed of the 18th December, 3 Henry VI., 1424, the College in the Church of St. Michael, to consist of five secular chaplains, one of whom should be Master, two clerks besides the Parish Clerk, and four choristers. It was endowed with a rent of £63 out of the estates left by the founder.

The Almshouse was founded by deed of the 21st September, 1424, for thirteen poor men, one of whom was to be Tutor, and endowed with a rent charge of £40 per annum. Of both of these foundations the Mercers' Company were trustees. The College

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shared the common fate at the suppression of Colleges and Chantries in 1548, and the Almshouses, after having been burnt in the Great Fire and afterwards rebuilt by the Mercers' Company, were removed by them in the year 1824 to Highgate Hill, where they now exist, for a Tutor, Matron and twenty-eight Almswomen.

Mercers' School being established in the new house, the number of scholars was increased to seventy, the Rev. Thomas Hill, son of the Head Master, was elected Assistant Classical Master with a salary of £120, and Thomas Patrickson, Assistant Writing Master, with a salary of £80. It was at the same time ordered that a register of the scholars should be kept at Mercers' Hall; and also that the presentation of the scholars should belong to the members of the Court of Assistants in rotation according to seniority; only that the Master and Wardens should take the first four presentations after their coming into office, in addition to such as they might be entitled to in rotation, and that a preference should always be given to the sons of Mercers. The age of the scholars to be admitted was not limited, but to prevent scholars from other schools gathering a benefit intended for the scholars of this school, it was ordered that no boy admitted after twelve years of age should be allowed to enjoy one of Rich's exhibitions.

Mr. Wills having resigned the office of Writing Master, Mr. Patrickson was elected in his place, and on the 19th July, 1839, the Rev. Isaac Hill, the venerable Head Master, who held the office longer than any one of his predecessors (nearly thirty-six years), gave notice of his desire to retire on account of the infirmity of increasing years.

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A memorandum prepared by Mr. Hill of the system of instruction at Mercers' School in his time has been preserved, and I gladly give it here. He says:

"Although many of the scholars are of late admission, and some of slender capacity for learning; though much of their spare time is lost owing to the distance from which some of them come; and though the parents of many most reluctantly supply them with books, or expend anything on their education, yet the school is producing great and beneficial effect. Of this the good order, the regular attendance, the moral habits, and the willing obedience of the scholars, are evident proofs; and it cannot be doubted but that the instruction which the school imparts and the impressions which it produces, will attend and benefit every scholar, that partakes of them, to the latest period of his life.

"The morning studies" he proceeds, "which always commence with Prayers, read by one of the Senior Scholars in rotation, are English, Latin, or Greek, with just additions of religious and moral instruction as the illustration of these subjects may require, and part of every Wednesday and Saturday is appropriated to general instruction.

"The present course of reading and lecturing in the three upper classes on those days is Geography on the Wednesday, Roman History on the Saturday. In the lower classes Tuesday and Friday are similarly devoted to Repetitions, Examinations, and other things suited to their age and understanding. When this course is concluded, either the comparison of English Grammar with the Greek and Latin, or Classical Antiquities or Ecclesiastical and Civil History, follow in an appointed order and succession.

"The afternoon studies are Writing and Arithmetic, with Merchants' Accounts, and the Elements of Mathematics, if the stay and talent of the scholar permit.

"The seventy scholars are nearly equally distributed into six classes, under two Classical Masters in the morning, and under two Writing Masters in the afternoon.

"The Exercises are prepared at home in the evenings. For Latin Grammar, Lily's is used as a basis, and the Eton where improved.

"In addition to these studies, which are performed in the School under the inspection and direction of the Masters, there is a lending Library from which the scholars receive books to read at home suited to their different ages.

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"And when any of the scholars have made sufficient progress in their learning, and are desirous of proceeding to the University, there are two Exhibitions of fifty pounds a year each, for the term of five years, attached to the school. These were continued to former scholars for seven years, and I think it is to be regretted that the benefit has been diminished. For there is so strong a hope and expectation in the mind of every University scholar, from long custom, from example and from necessity, to hold his School Exhibition until his Master's Degree, that it appears to him like violating nature to abridge the term. Neither is it politic in the present times to increase the number of students at the University, by a forced growth up to a particular period, and then leave them to fade and dwindle before they have attained to full age and maturity. Besides which the extreme difficulty of obtaining admission into the Church, after the conclusion of their studies, ought to cause every reflecting person to pause before he increases the number of candidates by presenting a fallacious inducement to one while he abridges the means of another."

Mr. Hill expressed a hope

"that these observations will be received with kindness and indulgence, and that this outline of the discipline and studies of Mercers' School will give a correct idea of its value, and show that no patronage can be more likely to pass uninjured and unsullied through the ordeal of these perilous times."

Mr. Hill resigned in the year 1839, and in the beginning of 1840 the Rev. John Smith, who was a Mercer, was elected Master, holding office for twenty years, when he resigned, and the Rev. Foster Stable Barry was elected on the 7th November, 1861.

In 1876 the Company, during the Mastership of Lord Selborne, and by his advice, imposed a capitation fee of £5 per boy on all boys to be thereafter admitted, except the twenty-five free scholars whom the Company undertook to teach under their covenant with King Henry VIII. They also raised the number of boys in the school to 100, and directed that learning Greek should not be required of any scholars in

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the school whose parents or guardians did not desire it, but that the school should be conducted on the principle of giving in it the best possible modern and commercial, rather than a classical, education. The places of the twenty-five foundation scholars were to be filled by competitive examination, open to all boys in the school under fourteen years of age, and to be so conducted as to make the scholarships prizes for superior industry and merit. It was, however, found impossible in so small a school to allow some of the boys to learn Greek and others to abstain from learning it, and the Company accordingly, in the year 1878, discontinued the teaching of Greek in the school.

The school was increased in 1879 to 125 boys, and in 1880 to 150 boys, and alterations were made in the old school-house for their accommodation.

In 1879 Mr. Barry resigned, and his place was taken by the Rev. Douglas L. Scott, the present Head Master.

There are attached to this school exhibitions originally founded, as I have before mentioned, in the year 1672, by Thomas Rich. For many years after the testator's death these exhibitions were seldom applied for, and large accumulations, which arose in respect thereof, enabled the Company to augment the amount of the exhibitions, until they reached £50 per annum. When the Company determined to discontinue the study of Greek in the school, the Charity Commissioners, on the application of the Company, made a scheme on the 29th June, 1882, providing that at least nine exhibitions or scholarships should be formed, each of the value of £25 per annum, to be competed for by boys who had for at least five years been in Mercers' School, and had been admitted thereto under

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the age of twelve years. Subject to these conditions, the exhibitions were to be tenable for three years at any place of higher education approved by the Company, but the Company were permitted, if they thought fit and the income at their disposal was sufficient, to make to any holder, in respect of his exhibition, one payment of £60, to be applied towards his professional training or advancement in life, instead of three yearly payments of £25 each. The exhibitions were to be tenable for the purposes of education only, and to be awarded and held under such regulations and conditions as the Company should think fit.

Amongst the distinguished scholars who received their education in Mercers' School were, according to tradition, Dr. John Colet (Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School) and Sir Thomas Gresham (founder of the Royal Exchange), and also John Young (Bishop of Rochester in 1589), John Davenant (Bishop of Salisbury in 1641), Sir Lionel Cranfield (Earl of Middlesex and Lord Treasurer to King James I.), and Walter Wren (Bishop of Ely in 1667), as well as several members of the Mercers' Company, who are now living.

On the occasion of the Jubilee of the granting of the first charter to the Mercers' Company by King Richard II. in 1394, the Company determined to remove Mercers' School from the building in which we are now assembled, and which was much too small for the increased number of boys who were being taught in it, and to increase the number to 300 boys. It was necessary, to comply with the terms of the covenant of the Company with King Henry VIII., that a site should be sought for the new school within the limits of the City of London, and considerable

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difficulty was experienced in finding a suitable place. However, in the year 1892 the Company were able to purchase Barnard's Inn, Holborn, with an area of 27,000 superficial feet, including the buildings standing on it.

Barnard's Inn was an Inn of Chancery, and was dependent on Gray's Inn. It was anciently called Mackworth's Inn, as belonging in the time of King Henry VI. to Dr. John Mackworth, Dean of Lincoln, and was given by Dr. Mackworth to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, to find a chaplain to celebrate Divine service in the Chapel of St. George in Lincoln Cathedral, where he was buried. It was, however, shortly afterwards converted into an Inn of Chancery, and called Barnard's Inn, from its being then in the occupation of one Barnard, and the Dean and Chapter granted leases of it to the Ancients of the Inn until a few years ago, when the freehold was purchased by the then trustees of the Inn. The arms of the Inn, which appear in the hall and also on the buildings outside in Holborn, were those of Mackworth, party per pale, indented ermine and sable, a chevron gules, fretted or, and the motto "Regi Regnoque fideles;" with the Company's "Honor Deo"—fitting mottoes for the new school.

The hall was probably built in the reign of King Henry VI., although it was altered greatly, if not entirely rebuilt, in the reign of Henry VIII. The original louvre, or lantern, in the centre of the roof still remains, recalling the time when a fire was lit in the middle of the floor and the smoke escaped through the roof. It is 36 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 30 feet high, and formerly contained fine portraits of Lord Chief Justice Holt (who was Principal of the Inn),

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Lord Burleigh, Lord Bacon, Lord Keeper Coventry, and others. The Inn escaped the Great Fire of London, but suffered severely from the fire by which Langdale's distillery, which adjoined it on the east, was destroyed during the Gordon Riots at the end of the last century. Some of the chambers were burnt and other parts of the Inn damaged, but the hall was, happily, untouched. The chambers, except some quaint old houses fronting Fetter Lane, were removed to make way for the new school.

Immediately after the purchase was completed a Building Committee was appointed, to whom the duty of getting plans for the new buildings, and carrying these plans into effect, was entrusted. This committee instructed Mr. Thomas Chatfeild Clarke, F.R.I.B.A., to submit plans to them, and the first stone of the new buildings was laid by Colonel Clementi, the then Master of the Company, on 25th July, 1893.

The buildings are faced with red bricks with Ancaster dressings, but are, unfortunately, hidden from view, as the entrances from Holborn and Fetter Lane are so narrow. There are two entrances to the main block of buildings, and one of these is surmounted by a clock-tower, in which a clock has been placed through the liberality of one of the members of the Court of the Company. Approaching the building from Holborn, after leaving the hall, which is used as a dining-room for the boys, with the kitchens, etc., in close proximity, and the library, which has been adapted for a Head Master's room, adjacent to the hall, the main block of buildings follow. On the ground floor is a large assembly hall (70 feet by 40 feet), with an arcade on its western side, and on the same floor a large lecture-room, and also a physical labora-

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tory and Science Master's room, and a class-room for the Head Master, Dr. Scott. On the first floor are six large class-rooms, and on the second floor a similar number. These rooms are lofty and well lighted, and are fitted with open warm-air stoves. At the south end of the block a covered playground has been provided for the boys' use in bad weather. A separate building of three floors, near Fetter Lane, contains an excellent Chemical Laboratory and the Drawing School. There is accommodation for 300 boys, exclusive of the lecture-room, laboratories, and drawing school. The whole of the buildings are fireproof throughout, and have been fitted with fire hydrants and with the electric light. They have been erected to the entire satisfaction of the Company by Messrs. E. Lawrence and Sons, of Wharf Road, City Road, under the direction of the late Mr. Chatfeild Clarke, and of his son, Mr. Howard Chatfeild Clarke, and have, with the purchase-money of the Inn, cost nearly £70,000.

The Earl of Selborne, a member of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company, opened the school on the 11th September, 1894, in the presence of the Master (Mr. Charles Thomas Lane), the Wardens, and several members of the Court and Livery of the Company, and a distinguished assemblage.

The building in which we are, after being used as a school for upwards of sixty years, will now be devoted to other purposes.

In concluding this paper, which it has been my pleasure and privilege to read before the Society, I cannot do better than quote, even at the risk of wearying you by some repetition, part of the speech of the Earl of Selborne

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in opening the new school in Barnard's Inn, to which I have been much indebted in the course of my remarks.

His Lordship said that :—

"The Mercers' Company attained their 500th year—not from their origin, which was much more remote, but from their legal incorporation—in the spring of 1894. They celebrated it, as it was fitting they should, with worthy solemnities at Mercers' Hall. They recounted the glories of the Mercers of past time, and we were all very well pleased to think that we had so good a retrospect and history. But if that had been all—if we had only celebrated it by a dinner and by speeches—it would have passed by and might not have left much impression behind it. But the Mercers have done much better. They have chosen this way of showing their gratitude for all the good which they have received, and all the honour which they have been enabled to obtain during those 500 years, by resolving to double the numbers, to improve the accommodation, and otherwise to increase the efficiency of Mercers' School. Upon that they have expended a very large sum of money. I do not know the exact figure, but I know it was very large; and it was with much gratification that I heard your Master refer to the addition made by an honoured individual member of the Court of Assistants, Mr. Norman Watney, to that fund—the very munificent donation of £3,000—to which also he has added the clock which will adorn the clock tower of this school. Well, you are now assembled in suitable and spacious buildings. You are in a way to obtain numbers which, in my judgment, are not much short of the greatest number that can be well and conveniently taught in a single school, and by the same staff of masters; at all events, numbers sufficient to make the school of infinite use to those who profit by the teaching, and to hold out every prospect of producing men of great and increasing eminence in all walks of life. Your Master told you that Greek had been abolished; not altogether, I hope, for in suitable places I hope it will always be cultivated, and remain and flourish; and any tendency to drive Greek out of the field where it can be taught to the advantage of the class of boys who are pupils, I should most strongly deprecate. But I think it was quite right here, because there are, and there ought to be, two aims in all good schools. The greatest and the highest is common to them all, whatever be the class of

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boys who come to them; I mean that aim which those who followed the prayers with which we began to-day's business will understand: the object of making good men, virtuous men, men fearing God and serving man; and that, whatever be the kind of teaching, is a result which may be obtained and will be obtained by the effect of good instruction, good discipline, good manners, and good principles in teachers and in taught. That is common to all schools, or ought to be so, and it is the highest thing of all. But there is also the preparation for the business of life. All people have not exactly the same kind of business. Schools which teach the very highest and most advanced branches of learning in language and other things supply the teachers for the community, the rulers, the statesmen; and in all classes they supply something which enables work to be done of a kind to which all men are not equally called. On the other hand, the ordinary business of life, to which all are called, may sometimes be unsuitable to the teaching of things for which there is comparatively little demand and from which there is little result. Now, I have very little doubt that the grammar schools, which were founded by King Edward VI., or in his reign, suffered in point of usefulness by the attempt to realise in them the same ideal standard of teaching, which is aimed at by our great public schools: the teaching Greek, for example, as well as Latin, as a matter of necessity. That was not done in the old times before the Reformation; in point of fact it could not be done, because nobody knew Greek at that time. It was not till after, or about, the time of the Reformation—the time called the Renaissance—at which Greek learning was again introduced. It is not at all surprising that when it was introduced there was a great love and passion for it, and a desire to promote it, and the consequence was that the old grammar schools which were content to teach Latin, the then universal language, and things practically useful, fell out of line, and instead of them, in these new grammar schools, an aim too high for their usefulness in most places where they were established came in, and the end was that many of them fell into a state of utter decay. That has now been remedied. Where they are fit to be first-class schools, teaching Greek, and the boys are likely to find a career in life with that as its preparation, they are still maintained on that foundation. In other places they have been accommodated to the local wants of the people, and it has not been attempted to encumber the teaching with that which is suitable only to some few of the boys; it would be suitable to so few that it would stand in the way,

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practically, of the rest. At the time that the Mercers' School was increased to 100 the idea was entertained that while Greek should not be required from any boys, yet those who wished should be taught it. The Head Master soon found that to be an impracticable method, and the result is that it is not now taught here at all; and with all my love for Greek learning I think that is quite right. Latin is taught, for Latin has its uses still to a considerable extent in many of the occupations which boys, trained for the ordinary practical business of life, may have to enter into. For instance, it is very useful to lawyers of all grades, and I have very little doubt that in intercourse with learned men and scientific men of every country the power of reading books in that language is of importance; at all events, no necessity has yet been found for dispensing with some knowledge of Latin. The other things taught—mathematics, geometry, history—are of practical importance to everybody. The result is, I think, that the school has been put upon a sound footing in that respect. It is a restoration of the footing on which it stood before the introduction of Greek into the grammar schools of this country; and now, with what has been done in the way of building, in the way of increase of numbers, with the exhibitions attached to it, I think the Mercers' Company may well hope that this school will be a twin-sister to St. Paul's, and the Mercers' Company may be proud of being associated with both. St. Paul's is one of the first, if not at this moment the very first, in the efficiency of its teaching on the highest system, sending every year to the Universities young men who attain there the greatest distinctions—distinctions which no other school at present surpasses—to which very few indeed approach. The Mercers' Company may well be proud that, having been chosen by Dean Colet to be the repositories of his trust, they are now associated with the management and with the government of so great a public school as St. Paul's. And I know no reason why Mercers' School—this day expanded and enlarged—should not be as much at the head hereafter of the great commercial schools of England as St. Paul's is now of the great classical schools. I am encouraged in the hope that it may, perhaps, be so by other things. In the first place I have known of late years something of the inner working of the school. Those for whom I very much cared, have desired to send their sons to it, have done so, and the sons, as turned out from it, have soon found their way into very honourable positions in life. I know it is in great demand, and I feel sure that, with the improvement which we this day inaugurate,

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the demand for it will increase. Then I know that Dr. Scott and his assistants are men who will not lose their opportunity of improving and enlarging the school in everything in which it is capable of improvement. They are men whom I congratulate sincerely upon this extension of their opportunities, and in whom I have the most perfect confidence that the fruit will be great. I hope that in the future the boys who come from this school will attain success and excellence in all the walks of life for which they are preparing. I hope, still more, that they will set such an example of virtue and good manners, and of sound religious principles, as may throughout the sphere of their usefulness extend and advance those principles. I hope that every blessing which we have prayed for to-day may be remembered with thankfulness by future generations."

Lord Selborne, in acknowledging a vote of thanks to him for opening the School, said:

"I can assure you that no one owes more to his education than I do, and therefore no one can be more strongly sensible of the duty of doing what is in each man's power to promote the cause of sound and Christian education. As a Mercer, nothing ever gives me greater satisfaction and pleasure than to see the Mercers' Company prominent in good works of this kind, and in supporting with great liberality and generosity all the institutions for the purpose of education which are committed to their charge."

The voice which then spoke to us is hushed, but the words will live in the memory of all who heard them, as those of a great and good man, perhaps one of the greatest and best men of this century. May his precepts and his example be an incentive to the Mercers and all the Companies of this famous City to persevere in the noble works of education and of charity which have always distinguished them.

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MASTERS OF MERCERS' SCHOOL.

When Elected.	Name.	How many years Master.	Cause of Leaving.
Mich., 1542	Thomas Freeman	7	Preferred
20 Dec., 1549	Thomas Prince	4	Resigned
1553	I. Gonalwyn	1	Dismissed
6 June, 1554	Dr. Gammounde	2	Dismissed
1556	Sir Thomas Shackspeare	2	
1558	Sir Thomas Augustine	—	
1559	William Alexander	—	Resigned
27 Sept., 1559	Richard Langhorne	1	Resigned
25 Sept., 1560	Thomas Michell	2	
27 Sept., 1562	Richard Martindale	5	Dismissed
1567	John Long	1	
5 March, 1568	Richard Martindale	6	
1574	Richard Wilkinson	21	
1595	R. Drewen	4	
9 Jan., 1599	Richard Levesley	21	Retired
24 May, 1620	Nicholas Augar	24	Resigned
1644	Samuel Cromleholme	3	
1647	Robert Green	8	Died
1655	Thomas Almon	5	Dismissed
3 April, 1661	John Boncle	18	Died
17 Feb., 1679	Seth Mountney Boncle	15	Died
22 March, 1694	John Killsby	15	Died
28 April, 1710	William Baxter	16	Retired
18 April, 1721	Robert Swinburne	11	Died
18 April, 1729	Rev. Christopher Morrison	8	Dismissed on obtaining preferment
18 May, 1738	Rev. John Brown, M.A.	33	Died
22 March, 1771	Rev. John Waterhouse, M.A.	33	Died
12 April, 1804	Rev. Isaac Hill, M.A.	35¾	Resigned
10 Jan., 1840	Rev. John Smith, M.A.	20½	Resigned
7 Nov., 1861	Rev. Foster Stable Barry, M.A.	17½	Resigned
24 July, 1879	Rev. Douglas L. Scott, LL.D.		

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HISTORY OF THE INNHOLDERS' COMPANY.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at Innholders' Hall, on Tuesday, 12th June, 1894,

BY

J. DOUGLASS MATHEWS, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.I.

HAVING had the curiosity to know something of the antecedents of the Innholders' Company, and finding little information obtainable from the sources whence the history of City Companies are generally to be found, I exercised the little patience of which I am possessed to search the Minute Books commencing 1642 and extending to the present time, and to extract therefrom such items that I thought would be of interest either to the general public or to members of the Company, and, after classifying them, to prepare a digest.

The Secretaries of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society having expressed their desire to hold their meeting in this ancient Hall, requested me to read a paper on the History of the Company, to which I assented, in the hope that by publication in their Transactions some missing link might be presented to a diligent student in City Companies' lore, and possibly be of some interest to those who honour us by their presence this evening.

Were it any other public body I should probably have endeavoured to have pictured to my hearers the old Inns (of which so many excellent examples adorn the walls), and walked through the narrow and

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picturesque streets of the City to the Company's Hall, Elbow Lane (now called College Street), on the banks of the Walbrook, close to Dowgate, and, after surveying the Hall, enter the Court Room, and sit with our fathers whilst discussing some subject of much importance to them as Innholders, and to their patrons—the public, and after business to join them in their feast, and afterwards in the merry dance, returning with them to their homes by the light of the horn lantern, the only sound being the voice of the City Watch announcing it past one o'clock; but remembering that those present know as much about this as I can tell them, and are much more interested in the prosaic history of the Company, I will commence without further prelude.

The first reference that I have found which in any way refers to a Society of Innholders, is mentioned in the "Memorials of London and London life," and is a petition from the Hostelers and Haymongers of London to the Mayor and Aldermen in the first year of Edward the Third's reign (1327), complaining "that "whereas they used to buy hay to serve our Lord the "King and the great people of the land and the "common folks coming and repairing to the same "city, there now come foreign folks, and bring their "hay in ships to divers quays in the City, and whereas "they were wont to sell their hay upon the water and "not elsewhere, they now stow it away in houses, "gardens, and other places, just as though they were "free of the City, and also that foreign folk who bring "their hay by land in carts ought to sell their hay by "the whole cartload or by trusses, and that before "the hour of noon; they now bring their carts laden "with dozens of small boteles powdered with dust and

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"other refuse, and sell it retail for half-pennies and "farthings, and stay to sell it at their own will, and "praying for redress that as the foreigners will be in "better plight than those who are denizens and free "of the City, and are charged towards rating the same." This petition was favorably received, and inspectors appointed to prevent the irregularities. In the thirty-ninth year of Edward the Third's reign (1365), in consequence of complaints that the Hostelers and Herbergeours have made bread to sell in their houses at their pleasure, that which has no assize and not of the value it ought to be, and that some of the Hostelers and Herbergeours go unto Southwark and elsewhere to buy horse bread, and there buy it dry at the rate of eighteen loaves for twelve, and sell it to their guests at one half-penny per loaf, whereas four such loaves are really not worth a penny, to the great scandal of the City, and to the great damage of the common people. It was ordained by the Mayor and Aldermen with the assent of the Commons, that bread should be bought of the common bakers in the City, each loaf being stamped with the mark of the baker, so that every one may see that the bread is of the right assize, and also that all the Hostelers and Herbergeours in the City of London and the suburbs thereof shall sell hay and oats at a reasonable price, that is to say, that they shall not take more than twopence for finding hay for one horse for a day and a night, and if they sell their hay by boteles they are to make them in proportion to the same price, and on the sale of a quarter of oats they are to gain eightpence and no more.

The Hostelers evidently required a great deal of looking after, for in the forty-fifth year of Edward's reign (1371), a proclamation was made by the Mayor

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and Aldermen that forasmuch as the Peers of the realm, and a great number of other Lords and Commons summoned to the Parliament of our Lord the King for the common profit of all the land, are lodged within the City and the suburbs, and will there remain until the end of the said Parliament, and wishing that they may not be subjected to outrageous demands for the price of victuals, command that no Hosteler or Herbergeour shall take for the feeding of one horse a day and a night more than 2½*d.* That he shall not charge more than 2*d.* for the gallon of the best ale. That he shall not sell the bushel of oats for more than 8*d.*, and that he shall not make any bread, but it shall be bought of bakers, and stamped by them, and that all other victuals shall be sold at a reasonable price.

From particulars prepared by a former clerk of the Company, it appears that a petition was presented to the Mayor and Aldermen in December, 1446, by certain men of the Mystery of Hostelers in the City praying them to confirm certain ordinances which were ordered to be entered upon the records and observed in all future times, which were, "That the Wardens have power to search all Hosteries and to inform the Mayor or Chamberlain of such guests or people as they find not of good rule or good name or fame. That no person be allowed to hold any Hostery that has not an open sygne, and that he be of good name and good fame. That every man, alien or stranger born out of the realm be brought before the Mayor within a day and night under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* for the first time, and 13*s.* 4*d.* the second time, and 20*s.* the third time, and doubling at each offence, one-half the fines to go to the said craft of Hostelers. That no man holding

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a Hostel receive nor take a servant of another if he has been vicious or untrue to his master or any of his guests. That all persons enfranchised in the craft be ruled and governed after the ordinances and rules of the craft for the common weal of the king and his people. That they shall be obedient to the wardens of the said craft and attend when summoned, and, if absent, to pay one pound of wax, half to the chamber at Guildhall and half to the said fraternite.

In October, 1473, a further petition was presented to the Right Honourable Lord the Maire and his worshipful brethren, the Aldermen of the Citee of London, beseeching that the members of the craft being called Hostelers and not Innholders which they were, and that there was no difference between them and their servants who were Hostelers indeed, that all they of the said craft, and being freemen of the City and keeping Inns within the City and liberties, shall henceforth be named and called *Innholders*. This request was granted.

Another petition was presented in July, 1483, asking that no person within the City and its liberties shall lodge people or horses in private or petty *Ostryes*, but that all such people and horses should be lodged in open Inns having signs hanging in the open streets, lanes or places. That no botell of hay weigh less than 5lb. troy weight. That the Wardens have power to search and execute the ordinances and to search all Inns and Ostries, to see that all botels of hay are of due weight.

In 1509, an application was made for a Charter, and in the year 1514, the King, Henry VIII, granted a Patent or License to the then Master and three Wardens of the art and mystery of S. Julian le Herberger of

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Innholders of the City of London, directing that out of themselves and other persons as well men as women, may erect, create, found, and establish a certain Fraternity or Guild, and admit and accept persons as brothers and sisters of the said Guild; and to elect every year a Master and three Wardens to form and superintend the said Fraternity, with power to meet and confer with others for counsel and advice, and to invest the brothers and sisters with a particular sort of gown or hood, and power to use and employ a common seal, and may have and bear the name of Master and Wardens of the Fraternity or Guild of S. Julian of Innholders within the City of London.

This Charter (which is exhibited) has an illuminated border containing the red rose of the House of Lancaster, and the red-and-white rose of the Tudors, and the pomegranate bursting the badge of Katherine of Aragon. Within the initial H is a miniature of a youthful king, crowned with sceptre and orb, and figures kneeling, clad in blue-grey gowns, edged with scarlet, and on the opposite corner is a figure of S. Julian in armour, with ermine cloak and cap.

S. Julian (not the Apostate) owes his adoption as the patron saint of the Company, to the fact that he is said to have turned his house into a hospital and lodging place for the sick and indigent.

An Act of Common Council, dated the 23rd May, 1663, enacts that every person using the art, mystery, or occupation of an Innholder, shall be translated to the Company of Innholders, and that if any person should use or occupy any Inn, Ostery or Livery Stable, within the City and liberties not being free of this Company shall pay 40*s*. for every month he shall offend, and that no person using the occupation of

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an Innholder or keeping any Inn, Ostery or Livery Stable should be admitted into the Freedom of the City, unless first admitted into the Freedom of this Company.

A second Charter was granted by Charles II, 1663, reciting the Charter of Henry VIII and the Act of Common Council, 1663, and enjoining that all persons keeping or occupying any Inn, Hosterie, Petty Hosterie or Livery Stable, not only in the City of London but within three miles thereof should be free of the Company, and also to elect Master, Wardens, and Assistants, and to possess and enjoy all the messuage, land, tenements, goods and chattels which belonged to the Fraternity or Guild of S. Julian le Herberger of Innholders.

This Charter, which is also exhibited, and is in Latin, has a portion of the great seal appended. It is written on five skins of vellum, the first skin has a richly gilded border containing at the top the royal arms, and at the side shields of the several quarterings. Within the initial C of Carolus is a painted miniature of Charles II, but the borders have partially flaked off. The borders round the next three skins contain well executed representations of birds and flowers with shields, badges, &c. The borders round the fifth skin contains at the top the royal arms between those of the City of London and the Company of Innholders, and at the sides the proper supporters bearing banners with the crosses of S. George and S. Andrew, and the arms of the City and Company.

In 1758, however, the privileges of this Charter were questioned, and the opinion of Counsel was taken, who considered that the right to compel persons

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living within three miles of the City could not be enforced as the King could not by his Charter, and without the foundation of some custom for the purpose restrain the common law right of the subject to exercise any trade, or compel any person to be made free of the Company, and therefore the power would only apply in the City of London.

By an order of the Court of Aldermen in 1685, His Majesty had signified his pleasure that amongst other Companies the Innholders shall have a livery or clothing, and in the same year the Company returned the names of the Master, three Wardens, twenty Assistants and twenty-four others.

In February, 1685 (James II), another Charter was granted on the surrender of that of Charles II, re-constituting the Society in accordance with the terms of the Charter, but requiring all persons holding public offices to enter into a solemn league and covenant abjuring Popery.

In September, 1687, a Minute records an order from the King that the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Innholders be, and that they are hereby removed and displaced from being any longer Wardens or Assistants of the said Company. This order was communicated by the Lord Mayor, requiring it to be entered in the Company's books. In the following month, however, a Master, three Wardens and Steward were elected, and in October, 1688, another Minute states that by an order of the Lord Mayor, that His Majesty restores all the Liverymen their Charters, and in December in the same year, a further Minute that this day the surrender being delivered to the Company by the Lord Chancellor was cancelled. These bare entries

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are unsatisfactory, as there was evidently some special reason for the displeasure of the King, which was afterwards atoned.

An Act of Parliament of William and Mary, 1691, restores to the Corporation and the City Companies all their former privileges.

In 1729 a question arose as to whether it was necessary under a recent Act of Parliament for members of the Company to obtain licenses for the sale of brandy. The Court of Aldermen adjudged that the Company was within the very letter of the Act, but made an order that none should be entitled to such license but those who were actually members of the Company of Innholders.

Much difficulty appears to have arisen, from time to time, to induce persons keeping Inns and Livery Stables to enrol themselves members of this Company, and also to prevent them from joining another company instead of this when they took up the Freedom of the City.

It was customary for Granaries to be established in the City under the charge of the several Companies for the purpose of keeping a store of corn in case of famine, and a Minute of 1670 states that a view was appointed to the Granary, but no mention is made as to its locality nor when it was given up.

In 1758 a complaint was made by two members of the Company to the Court that great inconvenience and distress was occasioned to them and other members and persons, the consumers of oats and other grain, wherein by a combination of Factors and Jobbers they had constituted a sample market in the heart of the City where they openly buy and sell contrary to law, and desired the aid of this Company

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to assist them in making application to Parliament, or otherwise to have a legal market in the City, whereby such distresses may be prevented.

In 1765 it was ordered that consumers of oats have leave to petition the Court of Aldermen or Common Council or Parliament if they think proper, in the name of the Company, for leave to alter the present law which empowers the Session of the Peace in London to grant a certificate for the importations of oats into the Port of London at the low duty instead of twice to four times a year. And in 1771 the Company subscribed towards a fund to defray the expense of application to the Sessions to open the Port of London for the importation of oats at a low duty.

A grant of arms was made in 1634, as follows:—*Azure* a chevron *argent* between three oat sheaves *or*, on a chief *argent*, a S. Julian Cross *sable*, and for their crest a star *or*, appearing out of a cloud proper, supported with two horses regardant *argent*.

The following may be interesting as shewing the unsettled state of the nation in the latter end of the last and the first portion of this century, being the prices of the purchase of £100 stock in Consols:—In the year 1789, £79 7*s*. 6*d*.; 1791, £81 3*s*. 8*d*.; 1796, £58 2*s*. 6*d*.; 1797, £53 15*s*.; 1802, £67 12*s*. 6*d*.; 1803, £71 in February, and £62 15*s*. in the following month; 1820, £77 5*s*.; and 1833, £87 7*s*. 6*d*.

Having now dealt with the general history of the Company, it may be interesting to note some of the incidents which present themselves in searching the existing Minute Books which date for September, 1642.

By the Charter of Charles II it was ordained that every person keeping an Inn, Hostelie or Livery

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Stable should make himself a brother and pay 2*s.* for quarterage four times a year or be fined 5*s.* for neglect over and above the amount, also that any member free of the said Company having an estate in money, goods or stock of the value of two hundred pounds or more, shall be called upon to take the livery or clothing, or in default to pay £5 and the same as often as called upon. Although the Company possessed a great number of Freemen, the Minutes show that there was often a disinclination to follow up the advantages of membership by becoming Liverymen, the reason not always being the impecuniousness of the member. Constant calls were made upon them to take the clothing or livery, and in some cases members were summoned before the Lord Mayor; one entry states that judgment was obtained in the court of King's bench, but, on the member attending the court of assistants and confessing his misdeed, he was admitted in the livery after paying £20.

One gentleman in answer to the call of the beadle so far forgot himself that he sent word to the Court "that he would neither serve nor fine nor "would he come near the Hall," and another who stood indebted for eighteen years' quarterage refused to pay up, and made use of very unhandsome language. An order was made in 1667 that a Freeman should pay, in addition to his fine, 17*s.* 6*d.* for a spoon and five pairs of gloves to the assistants. Some of the spoons possessed by the Company date as early as 1609.

One of the privileges of a Liveryman in 1657 was "that if any member of ye Company shall give to y^e^ "Company in his life time or by his will at his death "ten pounds, either in plate or money, or a bond, his

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"widdow shall be invited to ye hall at such tymes as y^e "Companies wifes do come to any feast."

In 1760, the number of the Livery was so small that a fee was allowed for introducing members into the Company, but in 1810 the Livery amounted to 360, and the Court being of opinion that the Hall would not entertain the whole Livery if it continued to increase, it was decided that only those who had served, or fined, for steward should be invited to dinner in December, and in 1831, the members were so numerous that there was not sufficient accommodation in the Hall, and it was decided that the members should not be increased.

Newspapers were sufficiently general in 1787, that it was decided that the Livery be summoned to attend at Guildhall by public advertisement instead of individually.

The Court of the Company consists of a Master, a Senior, Middle and Renter Wardens, and a Court of Assistants, numbering in all, including the above officers, twenty-four members. The day of meeting is the first Tuesday in each month, and this day appears to have been adhered to from the commencement of the present Minutes, and possibly a long time previously. The times of meeting varied considerably. In 1764, it was decided that the Court should meet at ten o'clock in the morning instead of nine, and that dinner should be brought on the table at two o'clock. In 1767, this was altered to three o'clock. In 1845, the Court was summoned at two for three o'clock instead of two o'clock, and that dinner should be at half past four.

The places of meeting were not always at the Hall. In 1667 the Court was held at The George Inn, Aldersgate Street, and the Minutes show that it met

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at various Inns in the City. Punctuality and regular attendance were enjoined, and fines were levied upon late or absentee members.

An important duty of the Court was to collect the quarterage in company with some of the Livery, and also to inspect the measures used in all Inns within a circuit of three miles from the City, for which purpose they arranged the localities in Walks. In one year it was arranged that the Court should meet for this purpose at six o'clock in the morning.

The election day takes place in July, and it was formerly usual for the Court to proceed previously to the Parish Church of S. Michael, Paternoster Royal, or S. Lawrence, Jewry, and attend service and finish up the day with a venison feast. I fear some of the members were rather lax in their religious duties, as each member attending was allowed 2*s.* 6*d.*, but nothing if he does not go to church.

The Annual Audit was also a red letter day, and the prosperity or adversity of the Company can be fairly gauged by the entertainments given on this occasion. In one year the Audit Dinner was omitted, and instead, the members of the Company were to be invited at 5 o'clock to tea and coffee, and a handsome cold collation provided in the evening for supper. In other years the entertainment was omitted altogether, as the state of the funds would not allow of it.

A deputation from the Court appears to have been appointed to dine at the Lord Mayor's, for in 1664, spoons and napkins were delivered out to certain persons, and a Renter Warden having served a second year was paid twenty shillings towards his charges "for going to the Lord Maires to dinner."

A certain amount of laxity appears to have crept

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into the ceremonial part of the offices, for in 1756 it was ordered that for the future the Master and two Upper Wardens appear at the Hall in their gowns from Michaelmas Day to Lady Day to be worn on their backs, and from Lady Day to Michaelmas to be laid on their chair backs.

In 1887, it was resolved that each member of the Court should wear a silver medal, bearing the arms of the Company and the date of admission to the Livery and the Court, and that when the member becomes Master it shall be gilt.

There appear to be no particulars of the Company's Hall prior to the Fire of London, except that it was on the site of the present Hall, and in 1659 the Master and Wardens were directed to view the cellar under the Hall to see what defaults are in the reparation.

The first entry after the Fire relating to the Hall was on 10th September, 1667, when a draught of the building to be made was ordered, and a fortnight after the Master and Wardens were directed to view the ground at the Hall and report, and at the next meeting one of the tenants had his arrears remitted on surrendering his lease of the house next the Hall.

In January, 1668, it was ordered that the ground should be cleared and the foundations laid, and the first stone laid with what convenient speed may be. In April permission was given to the Master and Wardens to take advice with some able workman for the most convenient way of building for the commodiousness of the Hall with the least charge to the Company. There appears to have been no contract, but the several tradesmen were employed and paid, from time to time, by instalments, the amounts being as nearly as I can get as follows :—

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	£	s.	d.
To the Bricklayer and Tyler -	500	0	0
„ Carpenter - - -	344	0	0
„ Joiner - - - -	164	0	0
„ Slater (for the yard) -	4	8	0
„ Plumber - - -	43	0	0
„ Mason - - - -	31	0	0
„ Smith - - - -	28	12	0
„ Plasterer - - -	66	8	0
„ Glazier - - -	10	0	0
„ Painter - - -	11	10	0
Total	£1,202	18	0

The clearing of the site cost £28 17*s.* There is no reference in the Minutes or in the Accounts to the employment of an architect or surveyor, or clerk of works as he would then have been called, but it is evident that although the structure was not scientifically constructed there was a master-hand engaged, as indicated by the entrance doorway, the old Court room, and the modelled ceiling now existing.

The money paid for the building appears to have been obtained from subscriptions, which amounted to about £220, and the remainder by bonds, which were paid off, with interest, from time to time. The gallery across the angle of the Hall was an after-thought, and built in 1681.

Considerable repairs were needed from time to time, and alarm was caused in 1784 by a report that the Hall was in a dangerous state. A surveyor was sent for, but not being at home, a bricklayer was directed to inspect it, and he reported that it was in a very good state of security, and was paid 10*s.* 6*d.* for his trouble.

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Large sums were expended, from time to time, for the maintenance and repair of the building, and in 1839 a legacy of £50 was left to start a fund for rebuilding or for substantial repair of the Hall. In 1842 Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Tite was employed as architect, and a sum of nearly £700 expended. It is satisfactory to know that the present generation are not wholly to blame for builders' extras, as each time any work was done the total cost was very far in excess of the original estimate.

Immediately after the last-named alterations were made a fire occurred in the cellar under the Hall, which was occupied by a basket-maker. Although the premises were insured, it had not been made known to the Insurance Company of the use made of the cellar, and they denied their liability to restore the damage. Eventually, however, matters were arranged and the restoration completed.

In 1882, in consequence of the dilapidated condition of the building, the writer was called in to survey and report as to its safety. His report was that it was necessary at once to secure some portion of the building from danger. The Court therefore decided that a committee should be appointed to consider whether the building should be pulled down entirely and rebuilt and a part let off for business purposes, or to retain the entire use of the Hall, rebuilding only such portions as were absolutely necessary, and after much careful consideration the Court decided upon the latter course.

The writer determined to deal with the building in the most conservative spirit. He found that the old Livery Hall could be retained but the roof and ceiling required renewal. The whole of the remainder of

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the building was so ruinous and dilapidated that it was absolutely necessary to take it down. This meant the demolition of the fine modelled plaster ceiling of the old Court room and the oak wainscoting round the walls. He however decided that, if it were possible, these should be preserved, and although three of the walls and the entire superstructure was removed, he was able with great difficulty to preserve the ceiling during the rebuilding and secure it to the new floor above and fix the wainscoting to the new walls, so that the room is now in the same condition as when the Hall was erected, more than 200 years ago, except that the width has been increased by the removal of a very large stack of chimneys. The shields in the spandrils of the ceiling bear the arms of the King, the City of London, the Innholders' Company and the date, *1670*. The entrance from the street remains in the same position and the old brick door case has been reproduced and the original arms and canopy over refixed. The old door and frame, after removing the old paint, which had well nigh obliterated the carved work were reused. By the rebuilding, a new and larger Court Room has been obtained on the first floor, and an ante room and apartments for the Beadle on the floor above. The Entrance Hall and staircase are entirely new and the latter has been so arranged that it gives access to the old Minstrels Gallery, a new entrance is formed into the Livery hall from the Entrance hall and the windows in the Hall have been re-arranged and filled with stained glass. The west window contains the arms of our present sovereign in the centre, and in the side lights the arms of Henry VIII and Charles II, the kings who granted the Company their earliest Charters. The window over

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the door contains the arms of three past members of the Company who have been Lord Mayors; viz.: Sir Chapman Marshall, Mr. Alderman Wire and Sir Thomas Owden. The east windows have the arms of the Company and the City of London and preparation is made for the arms of distinguished members of the Company. A Buffet for the display of the Company's plate is fitted under the east window, surmounted by the figure of S. Julian the patron saint. Some old glass bearing the arms of the master at the time of rebuilding after the fire and a master in 1678 has been preserved in the window on the staircase.

The basement is occupied by kitchens, wine cellars, &c., and so arranged that the dinners may be wholly prepared on the premises.

The last Court in the old buildings was held in August, 1885, and the first Court assembled in the new Hall in November, 1886. The total cost of the works was about £5,000.

In 1691 the use of the Hall was granted to the Poulterers' Company, which held its meetings here for several years. During the re-building of the Dyers' Hall in 1769, the Hall and Court room were placed at the disposal of that Company, and this favour was reciprocated by the Dyers lending their Hall during the re-building of this Hall in 1885.

This Company is unfortunately not rich in paintings or in objects of great interest. The large painting over the fire-place in the Livery Hall is a copy of a portrait by Pickersgill of Mr. Charles Druce, formerly the clerk, and in 1842 father of the Company, painted by subscription. This picture has especial interest as being the portrait of the first of four generations of Druce who have been and are clerks of the Company,

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the two present clerks being respectively the grandson and the great grandson of this gentleman, and each generation being equally respected. Two pictures in the new Court room have some interest. One is the birth of the Saviour in an Inn which is associated with the Crest of the Company, "The Star of Bethlehem," and the other an emblematical picture of Charles II dispelling rebellion and instituting a reign of peace.

Portraits of Alderman Sir Chapman Marshall, Sir Thomas Owden and Sir Polydore de Keyser, Mr. Deputy Walter, the father of the Court of Common Council, are hung on the walls. There are two oil paintings in the old Court Room, one of the opening of London Bridge, on panel, and the other of a Lord Mayor taking water at Blackfriars Bridge, but neither bear the artists' names nor dates. A small picture of Richard Whittington, sitting on the mile-stone at Highgate, has a special interest, as he was associated with the parish in which the Hall stands and the College named after him was on the opposite side of the street.

The sporting picture over the fire-place in the old Court Room is signed by Francis Sartorions, 1798, of Gerrard S. Soho, and inscribed "Newmarket, May 4th, "1797, Totteridge, property of Mr. H. Boot, winning "King's plate of 100 guineas for horses, &c., not more "than six years old, carrying twelve stone. Eleven to "eight on Totteridge, who won easy. The other horse "was Gabriel, the property of E. B. Deloune, Esq."

A fine old upright clock was given in 1739, and ordered to be placed in the Court Room, where it has stood ever since, and is still a good time-keeper. The three chairs for the Master and Wardens in this room

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are the original ones, and contemporaneous with the Hall. Various donations have been made from time to time.

The cushion placed in front of the Master is covered in dark velvet, and has embroidered in silver thread on one side the initials C. I. 1684, and on the other J. J. 1808. The cushion was evidently recovered in the latter year, but the earlier embroidery is evidently original.

Owing to a curious circumstance this Company is possessed of some very interesting and valuable old plate. A resolution was passed in July, 1665, the year before the Fire, that all plate belonging to the Company be removed to the Master's House, to be secured there by him for their use. This appears to have been the Ram Inn, in Smithfield, which was outside the area affected by the Fire.

As Mr. Freshfield will make some observations on the plate, I will not take up your time by alluding to it, except to say that most, if not all of it has been presented from time to time by Masters and members of the Court, a good example recently followed by our present worthy Master.

In 1667, "a strong Cheyst was bought with three "locks to put the Companies evidences and plate "therein. This chest is now in the Livery Hall."

The following is a copy of an inventory of the plate in the year :—

				Ozs.	Dwts.	Grs.
One guilt bowle, the gift of		Edward Osborne,	weighing	27	15	0
One	"	" Thomas Hynd,	"	32	10	0
One	"	" Nicholas Cooke,	"	29	14	0
One lesser,		" Mrs. G. T. Walter,	"	16	05	0
One shell cup.						
Two guilt salts,		" Mrs. Waterworth,	"	20	00	0
One grate guilt salt,		" Mrs. Sweete,	"	32	08	0
One large silver salt,		" Mr. Reeve,	"	30	00	0

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	Ozs.	Dwts.	Grs.
One guilt tankard, the gift of Mr. Pennington, weighing	30	17	0
One silver „ „ Mr. Charlott, „	28	13	0
Two mazers.			
Two dozen of St. Julyan Spoons, „	69	10	0
* Half one dozen of silver spoons.			
The Company's seal.			
One silver guilt spoon.			
One silver guilt spoon, given by Mr. Whittome for his freedome.			
One guilt spoon. Lost by Mr. Drewry; had to make it good.			
One guilt bowle, the gift of Mrs. Stockton in memory of Mr. Stockton, - - - - weighing	25	02	0
Twelve trough salts, the gift of Mr. Edward Norman, „	18	00	09

Also a quantity of pewter including

Six 10 pound dishes
Twelve 7 „ „
Twelve 5 „ „
Twelve 4 „ „
Twelve 3 „ „
Twelve other dishes.
Nine dozen and one plates.
Twelve pie plates.
Four pastry plates.
Two dozen saucers.
Two flagons.
Two others.

In 1670 there is a mention of the three garlands for the Master and Wardens, and a great Bible.

In 1666, the Company being indebted by bonds of £100 apiece to three of the Assistants, it was ordered that plate and pewter of the amount be pledged to them to be redeemed as funds will permit. The total weight of the plate being 639 ounces at 5*s.* per ounce, amounting to £159 19*s.*, to be divided proportionately.

In 1677, funds again appear to have been low, and plate was sold weighing 226 ounces at 5*s.* 2*d.*, amounting to £79 11*s.* 4*d.*

No entry relative to the plate occurs until 1821, when two dozen silver dessert spoons were ordered for

* In 1670 there appears to have been five dozen and three spoons.

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the use of the Court, and in an inventory made in 1830, twenty-nine apostle spoons are included.

It is to be regretted that so recently as 1845, a quantity of old pewter was sold as it was never used.

Subsequent inventories give a detailed account of the plate and inscriptions.

A fresh inventory of the plate was made when it was transferred to the new building in 1887.

In a society mainly composed of Innholders under the patronage of so hospitable a saint as S. Julian, it would ill become its members if they were behind other companies in the City of London in their hospitality and entertainments, but it is only fair to say that our predecessors were not extravagant in their expenditure in this respect and were ready at all times to deny themselves when money was required for other purposes, and when the exchequer was low; and, therefore, there are constant entries in the Minutes of entertainments abandoned or the bill of fare simplified to bridge over these difficulties.

The members evidently appreciated the festivities, and were eager to avail themselves of all the privileges that they considered their due, for in 1695, a resolution was passed "that the master, wardens and assistants, "take their wives according, as they are called, and "that no person presume to sett att table before the "Company be sett, and if any person doe contrary to "the order aforementioned the person who invited the "said person shall forfeit and pay to the use of the "Company the sum of five shillings."

The wives of the members were on certain occasions allowed to accompany their husbands to dinner, and a dance generally followed. In 1780 a member of the Court who for many years had taken the trouble to

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officiate as master of the ceremonies at the ladies' feast had the misfortune to lose a very good hat, and it was ordered that he be presented with a hat and feather as a testimony of their respect for him and his services.

The badge worn by the present senior warden was provided in 1790 to be worn by the person who shall act as Master of the Ceremonies on audit day as a mark of distinction and to command attention.

It is noteworthy as showing the love our ancestors had for the fragrant weed that in 1780 it was ordered that no fruit be introduced at any dinner except at the ladies' feast.

The Company does not seem to have been notorious for public display. In common with other Companies it was usual to line Cheapside with Members of the several guilds on Lord Mayors' processions and State receptions. Each Company setting up its stands in the positions allotted to them; this Company being in front of Saddlers' Hall. On the occasion of King Charles the Second passing through the City, an inventory describes 92 foote of rails of oak timber, four turned posts, iron hooks and staples, benches and boards to stand upon, and all other things belonging to them (such as cloths and ornaments).

It would seem that these demonstrations gradually lost favour, for in 1768, in consequence of the dilapidated condition of the Company's stand, they purchased that belonging to the Turners' Company for £33, and two years afterwards a motion was made and carried "that this Company do discontinue "their procession on Lord Mayors days from the Hall "to their stand for two reasons, first that trade being "in great decay and taxes much increased to support

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"the present war with France and Spain and also a "rebellion in America, many of the Members are "become unable to take upon them their offices in "turn, by means whereof the revenue of the Company "is become less, and the Court of Assistants find it "necessary to decrease its expenses, and secondly "because the Company in their procession and also "on their stand are often insulted by the rude "licentious populace." As presumably little further use was made of the stand, in 1793 it was stated to be in such a bad state that it could not be used, and was sold for five guineas. On the occasion of the procession of King Charles II through the City on his restoration in 1660, it was ordered that every person that rides send his footman to Innholders' Hall to have measurement taken for the livery trimmed with white and blue ribbons and mixt grey serge. King's colours in the hatte, and a short truncheon of white fir tippt with blue at each end.

In 1667 a precept was received from the Lord Mayor requiring this Company to attend him in their barge to Westminster, but after some debate it was agreed that the Livery should not be summoned, and that no barge should be provided, whereupon the Master required that the Assistants and Court should promise to save him harmless for disobedience, which they promised to do.

The Court has taken part, from time to time, in Lord Mayors' processions, when their members have served the office of Lord Mayor or Sheriff.

There is little doubt that much of the sentiment which surrounds City Companies is due to the fact that the more wealthy members have left money and property for the benefit of their poorer brethren, and

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the good feeling which existed between members of the same craft is evidenced by the fact that the Companies were constantly appointed trustees to carry out the provisions of their wills, and I venture to think that, judging from past experience, especially in connection with the City Parochial Charities Act, no body is better able to distribute the funds in a more economical or sympathetic manner, and in the channels intended by the donors, than the Courts of the several Companies.

A former member of this Company—Mr. Henry Scambler, an uncle of the late Sir Thomas Owden—gave in 1845 £6,000 to be invested, and the dividends distributed amongst poor Liverymen or their widows. At the present time there are twelve pensioners receiving £15 and £10 per annum each.

The dividends arising out of bequests for other members are given to decayed Freemen or Liverymen or their widows and children at certain times of the year.

I think I have now nearly exhausted my subject and greatly tired your patience. I have, however, endeavoured to give you an insight into our domestic concerns as well as our history, and although the Company is a small one, and great opportunities of doing some great thing either never presented themselves or were never made use of, yet it exercised a considerable influence over a trade (or to use the Old English term "Mystery"), which was an important one in the City of London, as not only did it conduce to the good fellowship which has always characterized the citizens, especially when after a very long and hard day's work, the chief relaxation of our forefathers appeared to be smoking a pipe with

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their neighbours in the nearest tavern, but it safeguarded the persons and enhanced the comforts of those who were constantly visiting the City for business purposes from the principal towns in the Kingdom, and also from foreign countries, who were ever keen to open up business transactions with us which has conduced in no small degree to the building up of our great empire.

We cannot boast of technical schools, nor are they required as the business of an Innholder has never waned and has ever been up to date. Possibly we may see our way some day to follow the prevailing fashion and institute an examination, but the purpose for it is not at present apparent, or we may as was once suggested popularize art by endeavouring to supersede the present pint pot by one which will be as pleasant to the eye as its contents are to the palate. If any lady or gentleman present has any suggestion to offer to extend the usefulness of the Company, I am sure it will meet with careful consideration by the Master and his brethren of the Court.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE LORD MAYORS AND SHERIFFS OF LONDON DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, 1501—1600.

Compiled by G. E. COKAYNE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
CLARENCEUX KING OF ARMS.

[NOTICE.—This account is confined to the person commemorated, his wife, and children, and although some further particulars of his descendants are sometimes added, they must be looked upon as exceptional. A complete series (compiled in the above method), extending over the first quarter of the 17th century—1601–1625 (some portion of which appeared in Phillimore's *London and Middlesex Note Book*, 1891–92), has (since the cessation of that work in 1892) been issued (1897) in a separate volume.

SIR MARTIN CALTHROPE, or CALTHORPE, *(Draper)*, LORD MAYOR, 1588–89.

He is said, in Stow's *London*, to be son of "Martin Calthrop, Citizen and Draper of London," but appears in reality to have been the tenth but fifth surviving son (one of nineteen children) of Richard CALTHORPE,[1] of Antingham, co. Norfolk (*d.* 20 Jan., 1554) by Anne, da. of Edmund HASTINGS, of Elsing, in that county. He was *b.* about 1520; is mentioned as a legatee in the will of John REYNES, of Suffield, 14 March 1551; was free of the Drapers' Company; *Alderman* of Aldersgate, 30 June 1579, transferred to Cheap, 1588, till his death next year; *Sheriff*, 1579–80, and *Lord Mayor*, 1588–89. He was *Knighted*, apparently in 1588, during his year of office. This was the year of the camp raised at

[1] An excellent pedigree of this family is in the (annotated) "Visitation of Norfolk" (Vol. ii, 13th portion) contained in the publications of the *Norfolk Archæological Society*. The compiler of this notice is greatly indebted thereto. See also Vol. ix of those publications, p. 154, and Carthew's *Hundred of Launditch*, part ii, p. 615.

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Tilbury fort, in expectation of the invasion of the Spanish armada. As Mayor, he took part in raising money from the wealthier citizens in support of the Government war expenses, sending no less than £17,952 in one sum. His letter, 15 Nov. 1588, on this subject is printed in Stow's London. He conducted the Queen from Temple Bar to St. Paul's, 26 Nov. 1588, to hear a sermon from the Bishop of Salisbury. He *d.* during his Mayoralty, 5, and was *bur.* 16 May 1589, at St. Peter-le-Poor, London.[2] Will dat. 3 and pr. 16 May 1589, in C.P.C. (48 Leicester). Inq. post mortem, 14 July 1590. There does not appear to have been any monument to his memory, nor is there any funeral certificate of him recorded in the Coll. of Arms.

He *m.* in or before 1544, JOAN, widow of William FREESTON (by whom she had issue), da. of Robert Heath, of Linsfield, co. Surrey, and Eatonbridge, co. Kent.

She *m.* thirdly, as his third wife, Edward BOYS, of Friedvile in Nonington, co. Kent, Sheriff of that county in 1577, who *d.* 15 Feb., 1598/9, aged 71, and was *bur.* at Nonington. She was *bur.* there 10 March 1597/8. Her will dat. 28 Feb. 1592/3, pr. 7 May 1597, in C.P.C. (37 Cobham).

ISSUE.

I.—MARTIN CALTHORPE, of Antingham afsd., son and heir, aged 30 and upwards at his father's death in 1588; bap. 12 Aug. 1554.[2] He sold the priory lands of Hickling, 12 Jan. (2 Jac., I.), 1604/5. He *m.* Elizabeth (sister of Dorothy, wife of Benedict BARNHAM, Sheriff of London, 1592), da. of Ambrose SMITH, Cit. and Mercer of London, by Joan, da. of

[2] REGISTERS OF ST. PETER-LE-POOR, LONDON:
Marriages.—1573, March 26: Thomas Payton and Ann Calthrop.
1579/80, Jan. 25: Martin Barnham and Judeth Calthrop.
1582, May 5: Umfray Burton and Anna Calthrop.
Burial.—1589, May 16: Sir Martin Calthorp.

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John COE, of Coxhall, Essex, being grand-daughter of John SMITH, alias HERRIES, of Withcote, in that county. He *d.* Dec. 1615. Admon. 16 Jan. 1616, in C.P.C. Inq. post mortem, 13 Feb. 1616. They had issue, which continued in the male line at Hickling till 1781.

II.—JOHN CALTHORPE, bap. 25 Nov., 1555;[3] living 1588 and 1592.

III.—ROGER CALTHORPE, bap. 11 Jan., 1562/3,[3] and *bur.* 18 May, 1565, at St. Benet Fink.[3]

IV.—RICHARD CALTHORPE, of Banwell, co. Somerset, 1623, bap. 3 Sept., 1564.[3] He *m.* firstly Blandina, da. of Thomas GODWIN, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1584 to 1590). He *m.* secondly Mary LOVE. He entered and signed his pedigree at the Visit. of Somerset in 1623, having then (by his second wife) three children, *viz.*, (1) John æt 22 [*sic.* but Query if not by first wife ?], (2) Richard, æt 5 [*sic.*], and (3) Samuel. The will of his widow, dat. 9 Dec. 1630, was pr. 10 May 1633, in C.P.C. (34 Russell).

1.—JUDITH, first surv. da. *m.* firstly, as his second wife, 25 Jan. 1579/80,[3] Sir Martin BARNHAM, of Hollingbourne, co. Kent. He, who was *knighted* 23 July 1603, and was Sheriff of Kent (1597–98), 40 Eliz., *d.* 12 Dec. 1610, and was *bur.* at Hollingbourne, leaving issue by both wives. His will, dat. 3 Nov. 1609, pr. 2 Feb. 1610, in C.P.C. She *m.* secondly, also as second wife, Sir Henry Burton, K.B., of Carshalton, Surrey, whose will was pr. Jan. 1646, in the C.P.C. She *d.* before him and was buried 16 June, 1637 at Carshalton.[4]

2.—ANNE, *m.* 26 March 1573,[3] Sir Thomas Peyton, of Knowlton, co. Kent, who was *b.* 31 March 1540, and whose will, dat. 20 Dec. 1610, was pr. 22 April 1611, in the C.P.C. They had seven children, of whom Samuel Peyton was *cr.* a Baronet 29 June 1611, a dignity which became extinct in Feb. 1683.

[3] REGISTERS AT ST. BENET FINK, LONDON:

Baptisms.—1554, Aug. 12:	A son of	Martin	Calthrope,	named	Martin.
1555, Nov. 25:	"	"	Caltrope,	named	John.
1557, June 12:	A da. of	"	"	"	Tomysyn.
1560/1, March 17:	A child of		"	"	[——]
1562/3, Jan. 11:	"	Mr.	"	"	Roger.
1564, Sept. 3:	"	"	"	"	Richard.
1566, Oct. 21:	"	"	"	"	Philip.

Burial.—1565, May 18: A child of Mr. Martin Calthrop, named Roger.

[4] The burials in the registers of Carshalton from 1644/5 to 1652 are missing, being the period in which the burial of Sir Henry Burton would doubtless have occurred.

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NICHOLAS LEVESON (*Mercer*), SHERIFF, 1534–35.

He was one of the three sons[1] of Richard LEVESON, of Willinghall, co. Stafford, by (—) the heiress of Prestwood and Wolverhampton Underhill in that county. He became free of the Mercers' Company by service; was Merchant of the Staple at Calais; *Sheriff* of London, 1534–35, but was never an Alderman of that City.[2] He resided in Lime Street, and was of Horne Place, in Halling, co. Kent, being one of the wealthiest citizens of his

[1] Of his two brothers (1) John Leveson, was of Norton, co. Stafford, an estate which he sold in 1552. He *d.* s.p. 1575, MI at Wolverhampton. (2) James Leveson, Merchant of the Staple, was of Lilleshall and Trentham, co. Stafford, and *d.* 7 July, 7 Ed. VI. The three daughters of this James made distinguished matches, *viz.*:—Mary, who *m.* Sir George Curzon, of Croxhall; (2) Elizabeth, who *m.* Sir Walter Aston, of Tixall, and (3) Joyce, who *m.* Sir John Giffard, of Chillington.

[2] "The Shrievalty of London if not conferred upon one who was already an Alderman, was mostly, until the second half of the last century, looked upon as a stepping stone towards the higher honour. In the first portion of the 16th century, however, there was quite an unusual number of holders of the Sheriff's office who seem never to have attained to the Aldermanic dignity, viz.:—1501-2, *Henry Hede;* 1503–4, *Robert Watts* (died in office); 1507–8, *John Kirkby;* 1508–9, *Richard Smith;* 1509–10, *John Doggett;* 1521–22, *John Britaine;* 1531–32, *Edward Altham;* 1532–33, *Richard Reynolds* (died in office); 1532–33, *John Martin* (died in office); 1533, *Nicholas Pinchson;* 1533, *John Priest;* 1534-35, *Nicholas Leveson;* 1538–39, *William Wilkinson;* 1538–39, *Nicholas Gibbon;* 1539–40, *Thomas Ferrer;* 1539–40, *Thomas Huntlow;* 1541–42, *Henry Suckley;* 1549–50, Sir *John Yorke;* 1552–53, *John Maynard* A century passed before we meet with the next instance. Under the Commonwealth, *James Phillips* in 1653–4 and *Thomas Chandler* in 1657, did not reach Aldermanic rank, but *Chandler* died during his year of Shrievalty. From the Restoration to the close of the 17th century we have the following Sheriffs who were non-Aldermen. 1670, *William Golmeldon* (died in office); 1680–1, *Slingsby Bethell;* 1681–2, *Samuel Shute;* 1682, *John Dubois;* 1682, *Ralph Box;* 1688, *Samuel Thompson* (died in office); 1694–5, Sir *John Sweetapple;* 1694–5, Sir *William Cole;* 1695–6, Sir *Edward Wills;* 1696–7, Sir *John Wolfe;* 1696–7, Sir *Samuel Blewitt;* 1697–8, Sir *Bartholomew Gracedieu;* 1697–8, Sir *James Collett* (or *Coller*). In the 18th and 19th centuries the instances have been more numerous." *Ex inform* W. Duncombe Pink, who adds that he is not sure if Ralph Box (1682) should be inserted. Box's election as Sheriff was declared by the Lord Mayor 14 July 1682, but it was cancelled and another Sheriff was chosen 17 Sept. following.

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period. He married Dionysia, sister and heir of James BODLEY, of Black Notley, co. Essex, da. of Sir James BODLEY, of the same, by Joan, his wife, which Joan afterwards married Sir Thomas BRADBURY, *Mayor*, 1509–10. He died 20 Aug. 1539, and was *bur.* at St. Andrew's Undershaft, where a monumental brass represents himself with eight sons and his wife with ten daughters.[3] His will, dat. 7 Nov. 1536, pr. 13 Oct. 1539, in C.P.C. (31 Dingely). His widow *d.* 2 Dec. 1560. Her will, dat. 1 Aug. pr. 20 Dec. 1560, in C.P.C. (60 Mellersh).

ISSUE.

I.—JOHN LEVESON, of Halling, co. Kent, son and heir. He *m.* (—) da. of (—) BACON.[4] He is said also to have *m.* Anne, da. of Sir John SMITH. He *d.* s.p. being slain by the rebels in Norfolk (1549), 3 Ed. VI.

II.—THOMAS LEVESON, under age in 1536; *Mercer* by patrimony; was of Halling afsd., being heir to his brother. He *m.* 29 May 1553, at St. Michael's Bassishaw, Ursula, da. of Sir John GRESHAM, *Mayor*, 1547–48. She who was *b.* 21 Oct. 1534, predeceased him. He *d.* 21 April 1576. Will dat. 17 April, pr. 30 Oct. 1676, in C.P.C. (28 Carew). Their son and heir, SIR JOHN LEVESON, of Halling afsd., *b.* 1555, entered his ped. in the visit of Kent, 1619, being father of JOHN LEVESON,[5] aged 5 in 1593, who left two daughters and co-heirs, *viz.*, (1) Frances, who *m.* Sir Thomas GOWER and was ancestress of the well-known ennobled family of Leveson-Gower, and (2) Christian, who *m.* Sir Peter TEMPLE, Bart.

III.—WILLIAM LEVESON, under age in 1536; *Mercer* by patrimony; entered his ped. in the visit of London, 1568, being then the

[3] The inscription, as also engraving of this brass (which was repaired in 1764) with a full description, is in an article by "W. H. Overall" in Vol. iv., pp. 287–300, of the transactions of this Society.

[4] The following marr.-lic. (Fac-office) probably refers to him: 1545, Aug. 27. "John Leveson, Esq. and Anne Woodhall, Widow; diocese of London."

[5] His yr. brother, Sir William Leveson, K.B., inherited and sold the estate of Black Notley. He *d.* 1661.

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second surviving son of his parents. He *m.* Barbara, da. of Robert CHAPMAN, of Stone, co. Kent, and had issue, Eleanor, living 1568.

IV.—NICHOLAS LEVESON, under age in 1536; *Mercer* by patrimony; living 1560.

1.—GRISELL, *m.* before 1534, John SADLER, of Edmonton, co. Middx., whose will was pr. 1534, in the C.P.C. (49 Mellershe).

2.—JOAN, *m.* before 1536, Ralph DAVENELL, DAVENETT, or DAWBENETT, and had issue.

3.—ALICE, *m.* before 1534, Sir William HEWETT, *Mayor*, 1559–60, who *d.* 6 Feb. 1566/7.

4.—MARY, unm. in 1536; *m.* as his second wife, before 1560, Edmond CALTHORPE, of St. Thomas' the Apostle, London, *Haberdasher*, brother of Sir Martin CALTHORPE, *Mayor*, 1588–89, and had one child, Dionysia, who *m.* 10 Sept. 1571, at St. Dionis Backchurch, Ralph WOODROFFE, wool merchant.

5.—DIONYSIA, unm., 1536; *m.* before 1560, William STREETE, and was then living with issue.

(To be continued).

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THE ANCIENT RECORDS AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE PARISHES OF ST. SWITHIN, LONDON STONE, AND ST. MARY BOTHAW.

BY

J. G. WHITE, Esq., Deputy.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held at the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, on 11th February, 1896.

IN searching out the old records and ancient history of these old City parishes, it is wonderful how much very interesting matter and details are to be found. The following can only be said to be a very short epitome of them, many having to be omitted for want of time and space.

We commence with the records in Pre-Reformation times, then proceeding to the various Register books (which I am happy to state are in a fair state of preservation); then the history of the advowson to the Church; then we will extract a few notes from the various Vestry minutes. The History would not be complete without a few words as to the Sunday Morning Early Lecture, for so many years delivered at this Church; and then a few words as to Salters' Hall Chapel for many years in the parish.

Unfortunately I am not able to glean much information as to St. Mary Bothaw, but what I have been enabled to gather together I think will be found of some interest.

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The antiquities of St. Swithin and St. Mary Bothaw must necessarily commence with a very brief account of the Saint to whom the Church is dedicated.

St. Swithin was born about the year 800, and became a Monk of the old Abbey of Winchester, rising soon to be Prior of that Institution. He was appointed Bishop of that Diocese about 852, and was noted as much for his uprightness as his humility. Like most bishops of his time, he was a builder as well as a bishop. He erected several churches in his old City of Winchester, and spanned the river Itchin by a stone bridge, the first of its kind that had been seen in that part of the country. He died in the year 862. The Cathedral Church of Winchester was dedicated to him up to the time of Henry VIII, who changed its dedication to that of the most Holy Trinity.

An account of St. Swithin's antiquities, of course, would not be complete without a word as to that mysterious old stone now embedded in its southern wall. Mr. Grant Allen considers that this is not a Roman relic as is generally supposed, but still earlier, a Celtic relic, placed there at a time when a village sprang up to become eventually the London of to-day. The Romans respected it, and when they went, the Teutonic settlers showed it equal respect. However this may be, we find a mention of this stone at a very early period. There is at the end of a Gospel Book given to Christ Church, Canterbury, by Ethelstan, King of the West Saxons, an entry where a parcel of land belonging to that Church is described to "ly near unto London Stone." Also, in the account of a fire which took place in the reign of Stephen (1135), it is stated to have begun at the house of one Ailwarde "near unto London Stone."

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It was originally on the south side of the street, and at some date unknown was removed to the north side, where it remained for many years at the edge of the curbing. On the 13th of May, 1742, there is the following minute of Vestry :—"That the Stone, commonly called London Stone, be placed against the Church, according to the churchwardens' discretion." There is no doubt that with the increase of the street traffic, it was found to be seriously in the way. On the 13th June, 1798, there is a further minute :—

"That the Porter's Block be taken away and a new Block be erected in the blank doorway, and the Stone, called London Stone, be fixed at the west end of the same on a plinth."

A Mr. Thos. Maiden, of Sherborne Lane, exerted himself at this time very much to preserve this old relic, and there is no doubt that in a great measure its preservation is owing to this gentleman's exertions.

About thirty years since, it was found that pieces of this venerable relic were being chipped away. To prevent this the present ornamental grill which protects the stone was fixed. At the instance of our own Society, and in consultation with its members, the following inscription which now appears in Latin and English was cut in the wall above :—

"London Stone, commonly believed to be a Roman work. Long placed about 35 feet hence, towards the south-west and afterwards built into the wall of this Church, was, for more careful protection and transmission to future ages, better secured by the Churchwardens in the year of our Lord, 1869."

The first mention of the parish of St. Swithin is in 1271–2. When Hugh de Butlyr, late rector of the Church of St. Anthony (St. Antholin) assigns certain

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rents in the parish of St. Swithin in Candlewytte Street, for providing a Chaplain to celebrate in the said Church of St. Anthony for the good of his soul.

In 1278, Nicolas de Hallingline left to Julianne his wife, three houses in St. Swithin's Lane for life, remainder to the use of the Churches of St. Swithin and St. Mary Abchurch.

Julianne, relict of the above, directs her house at Halegate [Aldgate] to be sold, and one moiety of the proceeds to be devoted to pious uses in the Church of St. Swithin.

In 1285, Sir Robert Ayleton, Knight, left to the Prior of Tortington his body and his mansion in the parish of St. Swithin, together with courtyard and garden, and patronage of the Church of St. Swithin, with the exception of the Tenter ground, which he leaves to the Chapel of Wooton.

In 1293, William le Farent left three houses and a shop in the parish of St. Swithin at the corner of the lane to be sold for pious uses.

In 1303, Fulte de St. Edmund left bequests for the maintenance of a Chauntry in the Church of St. Swithin, for the souls of himself, his wives, and others, and also for the fabric of the Church.

In 1322, Agnes de Branhynnye left to the Church of St. Swithin certain rents for maintaining fabric and wax.

In 1342, Matilda, relic of William de Caxton, left to the Rector of St. Swithin's his mansion house in Candlewick Street, and his houses in St. Swithin's Lane for the maintenance of a Chauntry.

In 1358, Roger de Dephane, Alderman of London, willed:

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"To be buried in the Church of St. Swithin, before the altar of St. Katharine and St. Margaret, near Margaret his wife. All his lands, tenements, and rents, he leaves to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City, so that they provide Chauntries for the good of his soul, the said Chauntries to be in the Church of St. Swithin."

In 1371, Thomas de Weston (Chandler), to be buried in the Churchyard of St. Swithin, left bequests to the Church and Ministers, and provision made for Chantries for the good of his soul, and that of William de Salisbury, Chaplain.

In 1391, Robert de Gailsford, the Rector, resigned.

In 1410, Elias Bokyng (Draper), Citizen and Freeman, gives a tenement in St. Swithin's Lane to Sir Richard Thorpe, Rector of the Parish, and his successors, to serve as a Rectory.

Robert Tattersall, Citizen and Clothworker, was buried in the Church, near the door of St. Katharine's Chapel.

In 1420, Sir John Hinde, who was Lord Mayor in 1391 and 1404, living in St. Swithin's Lane, rebuilt the Church and Steeple. His arms were in the glass windows of the Church, and he was buried in the body of the Church, with a fair stone laid upon him.

Randall Manning, Merchant Adventurer, Citizen and Skinner, was also buried here. His monument stated that he had by his wife, Katharine, sundry children, eight married, and six of them were living at his death. He died aged 78, January 19th, 1611. On a fair stone in the middle aisle was this inscription:

"No living creature lives so long,
But once must needs give place,
When doleful death, that champion strong,
Arrests them with his mace.

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"Example take by me
Which did my life enjoy
The space of sixty years, lack three,
Which death did then destroy.

"Like thee I was some time
But now am turned to dust,
As thou at length, O earth and time,
Return to ashes must.

"Of the Company of Clothworkers
A brother I became,
A long time in the Livery
I lived of the same.

"Then death that deadly stroke did give,
Which now my joys doth frame,
In Christ I died, by Christ to live,
John Rogers was my name.

"My loving wife, and children two,
My place behind supply;
God grant them living so to do
That they in him may dye.

"He departed 5 Aug., 1576.

"This sorrowful rime, I silly sonne
My father's grave did give,
That it might speak now he is dead
As though he still did live."

In 1439, Ralph Stoke, Grocer, left to Sir Thomas Wooler, the Rector, and Churchwardens of St. Mary Bothaw, an annual rent of eleven marks from tenements in Cornhill, on condition that they maintain a chantry in the said church. In default, the rents to go to the Rector and Churchwardens of St. Swithin, in default to the Rector and Churchwardens of St. John-upon-Walbrook.

In 1490, Henry Eburton, Draper, to Wm. White, Maior, and Master of the Guild or Fraternity of the

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Blessed Mary of the Drapers of London, leaves the tenement called Drapers' Hall, in the parishes of St. Swithin and St. Mary Abchurch, with a garden which served as a tenter ground adjoining.

This gift leads me to speak here of the connection of the Drapers' Company with St. Swithin's. The Hall of the Company originally stood in St. Swithin's Lane, on land of which the Company are still the freeholders. As early as 1405 the hall is mentioned. In 1479 the following payments appear as made by the Company :—

"Paid to the parson of St. Swithins for our place for a year 6s. 8d.

In 1488.—"To the parson of St. Swithin, and the wardens of the same Church, by commandment of the Council of the Craft, 6s./8d."

It is remarkable that several Lord Mayors of the City who were also Masters of the Drapers' Company are buried in the Church :—Henry Fitz Alwin, Mayor in 1190 ; John Hind, the builder of the Church, Lord Mayor in 1392 and 1405 ; Sir William Cromer, Lord Mayor in 1418 and 1423 ; Wm. White, Lord Mayor in 1489.

The hall was removed to Throgmorton Street in 1541, where it now stands.

THE REGISTERS.

These, so far as regards St. Mary Bothaw, date from the year 1536, but these up to the year 1654 are evidently to a large extent copied, being written in one hand and at one time. The registers of St. Swithin date from 1615. In 1602 the following occurs :—

"Lawrence Dogherty, servant of Lawrence Gascoigne, killed by the fall of a stone from Dowgate Conduit the 2nd of May, being the Sabbath Day."

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In 1603, from August to November, thirty-one died of the Plague. In 1625 there is another visitation of the Plague, when, from 9th July to 17th October, sixty-seven are buried.

On October 16th, 1627, Mr. Randall Manning died in the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, and was buried on the south side, close to Mr. Effingham. Paid double fees. This, no doubt, was on account of his being a non-parishioner. I mention this name because this gentleman was a benefactor to the parish, and left the sum of £2 10*s*. to be paid yearly for the poor. This was always paid through the Skinners' Company, of which Company no doubt he was a member. The City Parochial Charities have now taken possession of it.

I can find no account whatever of the old Church before the Fire, or what it was like. But we can in a small degree make up for this deficiency by noting carefully for the next few years in what part of the old Church our ancestors were laid to rest, as in many cases the spots are recorded with great care and precision.

In the first place we find that the Church had at least four bells:—"Thomas Crone, buried October 3rd, 1630, had the great bell, 6s./8d.; Mary, daughter of a widow, was buried November, 1630, had the fouhrt bell, 8s./4d.; Arthur, a servant to Mr. Wilkinson, was buried 16th of October, 1630, had the third bell, 3s./4d.; John Barber, a lodger at Mr. Holt's, was buried 2nd December, 1632, and had the great bell; paid double dues, £1," no doubt in consequence of being only a lodger.

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As will be seen from the following entries, the space under the Church was getting at this time well filled:

"Susan, wife of Abraham Board, was buried 16th of December, 1632, in the quire, close to Mr. Luton's pew. It will hold one more."

"Elizabeth, daughter of Antonio March, and Elizabeth, his wife, was buried 27th August, 1633, in the Church, in great aisle, between the two doors at the going in by the boot shop of Mr. Martin. It will hold one more."

In 1637 occurs the one only mention of a Rector of St. Mary Bothaw:

"The Rev. Wm. Lushington, Rector of St. Mary Bothaw, was buried 8th January, 1637; Josiah, son of Arthur Chapple, was buried in the cloister, 1641; Mary, wife of Charles Pugh, was buried in the choir, 2nd January, 1650; Ann, daughter of Mr. Jno. Dolini, was buried under the middle pew, the next stone above the stone with the brass upon it. Hold no more."

"Mr. Samuel Clarke was buried in the Church under the great stone in the middle aisle, by the west side of Mr. Hodges as you go up the aisle, 5th August, 1656; Mr. Simpson's child was buried in the cloisters; Mrs. Hubbard, wife of Mr. Anthony Hubbard was buried in the middle aisle next to my ladie's pew; Margaret, the daughter of Thos. Jolland, was buried in the Church between the two doors next to the churchwardens' pew, at the lower end of the court from Abchurch; Thomas, son of Thomas Topham, was buried in the church between the doors under the pews of the lower end of the middle aisle on the south side; widow Carpenter was buried in the cloisters at the further end; Elizabeth, daughter of Deputy Downay, was buried in the vault next the Vestry. Paid nothing for the vault. James, the son of John Sheffield, minister, was buried at the entrance into the alley going from the choir to the south side of the Church. Paid nothing. Laurence, son of Laurence Blanchent, was buried in the choir where his mother was; James, son of Edward Louis, was buried in the choir next the pulpit, under the second row of marble stones from the corner of the pew, March 1st, 1660; September 11th, 1661, Susanna Walker, kinswoman to Wm. Walker, was buried in the Church Yard, next to the Salters' Garden; July 25th, 1662, Rebekah, wife of Mr. John Moss, was buried in the Church at north door under the belfry. Ground full."

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The saddest record of all appears in the year 1665: "On the 10th of July, Richard Turbot, the son of Mr. Richard Turbot, the first that was buried of the Plague." On the 20th, his daughter, Ann, and on the 21st three more children, John, Richard, and Bridget, are buried in the Church. On the 23rd, Elizabeth, his wife, is buried. On the 25th, Ann Roache, nurse to Mr. Turbot, and on the 1st of August, Richard Turbot himself is buried.

We find, on collecting together the various spots so carefully indicated as the places of burial, that the old Church before the Fire possessed a tower and steeple, choir, cloisters, great aisle, middle aisle, and a chapel dedicated to St. Katharine and St. Margaret.

On the 1st of December, 1663, Dryden the Poet was married to Lady Elizabeth Howard, the license only having been obtained the day before. In the register the name is spelt "Drayden." No reason has been given why St. Swithin's Church was selected for the ceremony. In the entry of the license, which is still preserved, it is recorded that:

"John Dryden of St. Clement Danes in the County of Middlesex, Esq: aged about 30 years, a batchelor, alleges that he intendeth to marry with Dame Elizabeth Howard of St. Martin's in the Fields, aged about 25 years." . . . . So neither party belonged to the Parish.

The first entry in the Register Book after the rebuilding of the Church, occurs on the 12th of November, 1672. It is that of a wedding. The next three weddings, in 1674, 1677 and 1679, take place at Salters' Hall, but no reason is given for this. The Rev. Richard Owen, who was rector at this time, is most precise in his entries, and at the same time

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writes a most beautiful, clear and legible hand, in such marked contrast to many of the Clergy, whose writings for the most part are difficult to decipher. The following are one or two:

"Baptism—Edward, the son of Thomas Pilkington by Hannah his wife was born on Tuesday, the 30th day of November at eleven of the Clock at night, 1675, and baptized the day following, being Wednesday, December 1st, 1675, by me Richard Owen, Rector."

One poor little mortal is born about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and baptised on the same day. Another was born at one o'clock in the afternoon and baptised on the same day. In 1680 a note is made to an entry that the couple were "married in St. Swithin's *new* Church, by me Richard Owen, Rector."

On the 18th of May, 1703, Charles Hollingsworth, son of Francis Hollingsworth, aged 17 years, "being converted from Quakerism," was baptised on Tuesday in Whitsun week. On December 29th, 1740, a rather singular entry is made in the marriage register:

"John ——, Annie ——, were married at St. Swithin's by Mr. Barr, of Merchant Taylors' School.

N.B.—Mr. Barr remembered the names were John and Annie, and that the license was from the Bishop of London, but he could give no account of surnames, the persons married having taken away the license with them."

THE ADVOWSON OF THE CHURCH.

After the dissolution of the monasteries the Advowson of the Rectory of St. Swithin which had previously belonged to the Prior and Convent of Tortington in Sussex, was granted, together with the town house of the Prior of Tortington, by Henry VIII, to John, Earl of Oxford. From this Oxford Court derives its

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name, as here the house was situated. Edward, Earl of Oxford, sold both the Advowson and the house to Sir John Hart, who was Lord Mayor in 1589. From him they passed to his son-in-law, Sir Geo. Bolles, Lord Mayor in 1617. Both Sir John Hart and Sir Geo. Bolles were buried in the old Church. A monument was erected on the south side of the Chancel with this inscription:

"This monument was erected at the sole cost and charges of Lady Jane Bolles in memory of her late dear and worthy husband, The Right Worshipfull Sir Geo. Bolles, Knight, sometimes Lord Maior of the City of London, a gentleman worthily descended of an ancient and unblamed family, seated in Lincolnshire, which Lady Jane was the eldest Daughter of that worthy and famous deceased Knight, Sir John Hart, sometimes likewise Lord Maior of the said City of London, and both Brothers of the Right Worshipfull Fraternity of the Grocers. Two Branches of that virtuous stem now flourishing, his son John Bolles, Esq., now living at Skampton in Lincolnshire, and his eldest daughter Ann, the wife of Captain Humphry Smith of London, Grocer, who deceased the 1st September 1621, being aged 53 years.

EPITAPH:

"Honour, Integrity, Compassion,
These three filled up the life time of this man,
Of Honour, the grave Proctorship he bare
Which he discharged with conscience, truth and care.
He possessed Earth, as he might Heaven possess,
Wise to do right, but never to oppress,
His charity was better felt than known,
For when he gave there was no trumpet blown,
What more can be comprised in one man's fame
To crown a soul, and leave a living name
All his just praise in her life may be read,
The true wife of his worth, as of his bed."

Soon after this date commences the long and close connection, lasting nearly 200 years, of the Salters' Company with the Parish of St. Swithin. The

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original Hall of the Company before the Fire was in Bread Street. This Hall was burnt down in 1539. In 1559 a new Hall, with six Almshouses, was built on the same site. In 1641 the Company purchased Oxford House with the garden attached, together with the Advowson of the Church of St. Swithin. The building erected after the Great Fire had luxuriant pleasure gardens attached to it, and was one of the sights of the City. A remnant of these gardens is still to be seen in St. Swithin's Lane.

A Vestry Meeting was held on the 7th of November, 1647, for the election of a Minister. It was first put to the meeting whether they should proceed to the election, this being the Sabbath day. There were five candidates in nomination. Mr. Sheffield was chosen. He was called in and informed so. He then desired time to consider his answer. This was given at a Vestry held on the 10th of November, when he promised to do his best for the Parish. At the same time a Committee was chosen to view the Parsonage House, and find in what repair it was. It is very uncertain what position this gentleman occupied. There were at various times monies collected in the Parish for his support, for we find that at a Vestry held on 10th February, 1656—(that is, nine years after):

"It was ordered that a Petition be presented in the name of the Parish to the Worshipful Company of Salters, on behalf of Mr. Sheffield."

At a Court of the Company held May 12th, 1657, the petition was read, and it was resolved that:

"The Court finding Mr. John Sheffield to be a painful godly minister, do (at the request of the said Parishioners) as much as in them is, grant and confirm the place of Rector of the said Church, upon the said Mr. Sheffield."

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At a Court, 31st March, 1674, Doctor Owen, the Incumbent, made his request that they would grant him License to let the Parsonage House, according to a late Act of Parliament, which the Court granted, "so far as they might lawfully do so."

In 1682 the living was again vacant. On 13th February it was ordered:

"That Mrs. Owen, the widow of the late Rector, be allowed to receive and take to her own use, the Tithes and Profits of the Parish, provided she takes care to get somebody to supply the place of Reader and Preacher until Lady Day next."

There seems to have been at this election a dispute between the Court, and the Yeomanry and Livery, as to who should elect the new Rector. Two Counsels' opinions were taken on the matter, and as they differed a third opinion was taken, which decided in favour of the Court, and Mr. Thomas Moriton was elected, on condition that he resigned the living of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey forthwith. In April, 1683, His Majesty the King interfered in the election, alleging its irregularity, when the Court again proceeded to elect, and Mr. Moriton was again chosen, but at a Court of Livery and Yeomanry held in July, Mr. William Barrett was chosen and elected.

In 1700 there was another vacancy, and an opinion was declared that the Presentation to the Rectory is in the choice of the Assistants, Livery and Yeomanry. Mr. William Hodges was elected.

In 1715 the living was again vacant, and no less than four Courts of the Livery and Freemen were held, when the proceedings were long and tedious, resulting at last in the election of the Rev. Thomas Wroughton.

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In 1734, the Company sold the Advowson to Mr. Matthews Beachcroft. Who this gentleman was I have no means of knowing. The alternate Presentation ultimately passed into the hands of the Rev. Henry George Watkins, who was Rector of the united parishes from 1806 to 1850, with whose family it still remains, the alternate Presentation being in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

It is very remarkable that with the exception of Mr. Sheffield's name being mentioned in the Vestry in 1657, not one of the later transactions as to the presentations is mentioned in the minutes.

I must here acknowledge my warmest thanks to Mr. Scott, the Clerk of the Salters' Company, for his great kindness in allowing me an opportunity of collecting the interesting information which I have just read, showing the close connection between the Company and the Parish.

VESTRY MINUTES.

A Vestry Meeting is held on the 18th of December in each year for the election of Common Councilmen, a foreman of the inquest, a second man, a third man for scavenger, and three constables.

June 16, 1652:

"It was Ordered that there be a meeting of the Parishioners on Midsummer Day to view the Parish Lands, and that there be £4 or £5 laid out for a Dinner, and that all the Vestrymen now present, with the ancients of the Parish, be invited."

May 21, 1655:

"Ordered that the Parish have a Collection Dinner in Whitsun week, and that £5 be spent on it."

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Soon after the Great Fire the following letter was sent to an Attorney at Canterbury, with regard to the rent of a farm at Whitstable. [I may say that this farm is still in the hands of the Parish, or rather the London Parochial Charities.] :

"Dated 4 December, 1666. Sir—The late sad Providence that hath befallen your Landlords, Parishioners of St. Swithin, as well as the greater part of our once famous City of London, hath scattered them into several places. You know that you are now in arrear one ½ year's rent, which we suppose by this time might have been paid, but that you know not where to send it. These are therefore to desire you to send it to the Church Warden, Mr. Hills, a Cooper, at Battle Bridge, in Southwark. Herein you will save a great deal of trouble to yourself and Parish."

There was no Vestry held between 24 March, 1665, and 11 April, 1666. This, there is no doubt, was in consequence of the Plague raging at the time.

After the Fire the Vestries are held at a variety of places. On December 4, 1666, one is held at the King's Head Tavern, Leadenhall Street; on 24 April, 1667, at the Turnpike, in Moorfields; on 22 August, at the house of Mr. Burgis, in St. Swithin's Lane. This same gentleman was given permission to build a shed upon the site of a house, late the property of the Parish, and to pay £5 a year for it.

December 2, 1667. A Committee was chosen to treat with the Parish tenants, about rebuilding their houses, lately burnt down, and that the Committee meet once a fortnight.

May 29, 1668:

"The late Churchwarden, Mr. Burgis, did deliver to Mr. Jas. Howorth, the present Churchwarden, the things hereafter mentioned belonging to this Parish, now all that were saved out of the late

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dismal Fire of London :—'Two large Silver Flagons, two Gilt Cups with covers in leather cases,' [these are still in use in the Church], 'also two Pewter Basins, two Brass Candlesticks,' [and a few other articles all of which have disappeared]."

August 10, 1669. An order is received from the Lord Mayor that the Churchwardens shall cause the walls and steeple of the late Church of St. Mary Bothaw to be forthwith taken down, the materials thereof to be preserved and to be employed towards the repairing and rebuilding of the Church of St. Swithin.

December 19, 1670. The Vestry considered the necessity of repairing the steeple of the Church, and in order that the same should not be too costly, a Committee was formed to overlook the work, and that the Churchwardens of St. Mary Bothaw bring in their Plate, Bells, and Vestments into the Church according to Act of Parliament.

January, 1671 :

"Ordered that all the stones of the old Church be sorted out, and what are not fit to be used in the rebuilding of the Church, are to be used in the Church Yard Wall."

November, 1676 :

"Ordered that the Vestry do meet some of the Parishioners of St. Mary Bothaw, and discourse with them about the rebuilding of the Parish Church."

June 12, 1677. The Parishioners asked permission to lay, cut, and square stones for the rebuilding of the Church on some vacant ground belonging to the Salters' Company and adjoining, which was granted.

May, 1679. Two more names are added to the Committee for the more effectual and speedy finishing of the Church in all respects. It was also ordered

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that the Church shall be forwarded as speedily as possible, and that the Vestry, Commandments, Bells, Paving, Galleries, and other things for the full completing and finishing of the Church shall now be put in hand. From this date there is no further mention of the building of the Church, it must by this time have been nearly completed. Neither is the name of our great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, under whose superintendence it was erected, once mentioned. According to most authorities it was in this year, 1679, that the Church was opened for Divine Worship, the total cost of it being £4,687 4*s*. 6*d*.

January 28, 1701. At a meeting of the joint Parishes it was agreed that an Organ should be put up. A Committee was formed to carry this out, and it was agreed that the Organ should be taken away free of charge within twelve months, if not approved of. There seem to have been for some time past serious differences existing between the two parishes on this and other matters. At a Vestry of St. Swithin's held July 7, 1703:

"It was ordered that no Organ be permitted to be brought into the Church, or erected therein, without order of Vestry for that purpose first had and obtained."

In 1734, Mr. Peter Lucas, who had been chosen to serve the office of Constable, Inquestman and Scavenger, desired to be excused, upon his paying the customary Fee of £15, which was granted.

July 25, 1744. Ordered:

"That Prayers for every day in the evening should begin at 5 o'clock precisely, and that Mr. Richardson have notice thereof."

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As late as 1765, Scavengers and Lamp Collectors are elected every year, from which time they are not again mentioned.

August 21, 1772. Mr. Deputy Whipham informs the Vestry that the Lord Mayor desires to remove the old Chandelier out of the Church, and to give a new one. It was agreed to accept His Lordship's kind offer, and he was asked to have the following inscription written on it:—"The gift of the Right Honourable William Nashby, Lord Mayor, and Alderman of this Ward, 1772." I recollect this fine old Chandelier well. It was taken down in 1847, and afterwards sold for old brass.

On the 17th February, 1773, the Church was re-opened after repairs, and a Charity Sermon preached for the benefit of the Spitalfields weavers.

December 8th, 1773. It was agreed that in future the fine for being excused serving the office of Churchwarden be £20.

May 17th, 1775. The Churchwarden informed the Vestry that he had taken Counsel's opinion upon the propriety of prosecuting Mr. Higginson for refusing to take upon himself the office of Churchwarden. It was not agreed to prosecute, which was grounded on the following opinion:

"I apprehend that it is residence in a Parish that makes a person compellable to serve the office of Churchwarden, and it does not appear to me that Mr. Higginson, who actually resides in another parish is to be considered an inhabitant of St. Swithin's, and liable to serve the office, merely because a warehouse in Mr. White's house is used in their joint trade. But if the parishioners choose to try this point, I think the proper way will be to cite Mr. Higginson to take the Oaths, &c. Mr. Higginson may then appear under protest, and the question should be brought on that protest." [Signed H. Calvert, Doctor's Commons.]

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Nov. 6th, 1807. At a joint Vestry it was resolved:

"That it is desirable and expedient to erect an Organ in the Church of these united Parishes, so soon as a sufficient sum of money can be obtained to defray the expenses."

In 1809 a faculty was obtained for its erection, a sum of £405 11*s.* 11*d.* being given. This organ which has been altered and enlarged, is still in use.

In 1811 the Commissioners of Sewers informed the Vestry that they wished to alter the position of the Pitching Block which then stood at the edge of the pavement. The Vestry agreed to this on condition that a new one be erected equally convenient for those who may wish to use it, to be placed against the Church wall in the blank doorway, and that the ancient London Stone be carefully preserved. This old Block, which I well recollect, was removed in 1847. In this year (1811) there was a census taken of the Parish. There were 78 inhabited houses with a population of 428. At a census in 1831 there were 77 inhabited houses, population 262, and in 1851, 46 inhabited houses, population 172.

We gather from these figures that from the year 1811 the population began to diminish.

April, 1825. A Vestry was called together to consider the question of the Catholic Emancipation Act, when the following resolution was carried:

"That petitions to both Houses of Parliament be presented from these united Parishes, against any further concessions to the claims of the Roman Catholics."

THE ACCOUNTS.

The Accounts of the Parish begin in the year 1602. There are a few receipts and payments made from time to time by the Churchwardens and Vestry

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which have a little interest. In the old Church the houses seem to have been built as we often see in Continental cities, close against the Church. In 1640, "received of Mr. Sexton £5 for a shop under the Church wall; received of Mr. Hampthill £5 for a corner shop under the wall; received of Mr. Floyd £8 for his dwelling house in the Church Yard; received of Mr. Linfer £1 6*s.* 8*d.* for a shop at the Church door."

The rentals appear at this time to have been from £300 to £400 a year, and to have been received with very good regularity. After the Fire in 1666 they drop down to about £80 to £100 a year, and about 1700 they seem to recover themselves.

There are also a few payments of some interest.

In 1646 £300 is lent and paid into Guildhall upon the proposition of the Lords and Commons to be repaid with interest upon the public faith engaged by ordinance of Parliament. This was, as you are aware, at the time of the Civil Wars, and the year in which Charles I surrendered to his enemies.

In 1644 a payment of £3 10*s.* 0*d.* is made to Mr. Dyer, of Bush Lane, when his house was visited by the Plague, and also a payment of £2 18*s.* 4*d.* to Mr. Gifford, for repairing the Church Lanthorns.

In 1648 a dinner on Holy Thursday is given, costing £6 19*s.* 4*d.* This good old custom existed until a few years ago, when the Parish property was confiscated under the Parochial Charities Act.

In 1649 a very extensive and fatal fire occurred at All Hallows Barking, through the explosion of 27 barrels of gunpowder. "To the poor of Barking,

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towards their losses by fire, the sum of £6 3*s.* 2*d.* is given." £7 1*s.* 4*d.* is paid to Goody Robinson for nursing a child, and other charges, and £35 5*s.* 0*d.* is paid for nursing, clothing, and schooling five children. There are a very large number of these payments for many years; and in 1660 there is a payment to Mr. Rumball of £2 14*s.* 6*d.* for repairing the parish squirts.

THE SUNDAY MORNING EARLY LECTURE.

The origin of this lecture is very uncertain. From an inscription on a silver Paten which was used at the services, we find that in 1737 it belonged to the "Morning Society," at St. Laurence Jewry. It is uncertain how long the lecture was preached there, but it seems probable that about the year 1754 it was removed to St. Mary Aldermary. In 1755 there is an entry that the articles belonging to the Lecture were taken to St. Albans, Wood Street. At this time the Lecture commenced at six o'clock in the morning, the Preachers were paid 10*s.* each, the Reader 4*s.*, and the Clerk 2*s.* for each service. The attendance at this early service must have been very good, for we find that an offertory was taken every Sunday for the support of the Lecture, amounting on an average to about 20*s.* to 30*s.* each Sunday. At this time payments were made over to the College Hill Society, but I cannot find any record as to what this society was. From St. Albans it was removed to St. Margaret, Lothbury, where it remained until 1815. The offertories at this time had fallen to about 8*s.* to 10*s.* each Sunday. For some reason, not stated, the Rector objected to the Lecture remaining at the Church. The then trustees petitioned the Rector

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and Churchwardens of St. Swithin's to allow the Lecture to be delivered there. This was readily accorded, and up to two years ago, when the Lecture was discontinued, it has so remained.

The Rev. Thos. Scott, the commentator, and the Rev. Richard Cecil, have been among the Lecturers. In later years, the Rev. Hugh Allen, Rev. William Cadman, and Rev. J. B. Owen have been among the Lecturers.

The Lectures were for many years delivered all the year round at 6 a.m. About 1815 the time was altered to 6.30, and the period for the six months from April to September. This was continued until the close.

SALTERS' HALL CHAPEL.

This Chapel or Meeting House, as it was originally called, stood near to the Gardens of the Hall. The Meeting House was in no way connected with the Company, except that they were tenants of the Company for the long period of 128 years. The Chapel was erected in the former part of the reign of William III, but before the Revolution the congregation assembled at Buckingham House, College Hill. The Church was gathered in the reign of Charles II, but by whom is uncertain. It is probable that some of the early members of the congregation were also of the Company which led to the lease being originally granted. Several of the City Companies took a strong part in the Civil Wars, and their halls were used for various public purposes, and the Salters' Hall was among them. It is traditionally reputed that the Court for a considerable period was comprised wholly

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of dissenters, hence we may account for this close connection. The earliest account that can be obtained carries us back to the Revolution of 1688, when the Rev. Richard Mayo, ejected from the living of Kingston-upon-Thames, was appointed minister, and Mr. Nathaniel Taylor his assistant. This Mr. Taylor succeeded Mr. Mayo as minister. He was described by Doddridge as the "Watts of Nonconformity." William Tong, the friend and biographer of Matthew Henry, and the one who completed his COMMENTARY, was one of the most popular preachers in London. He died in 1726. There is a long list of other worthies who filled the pulpit here.

On the 6th January, 1820, the services in the old Chapel were discontinued and the materials of the building sold soon afterwards. It was then removed to Cannon Street, on the spot now occupied by the Post Office, 101, Cannon Street. This Chapel I well recollect, it was a large substantial brick building of a square form with four deep galleries, and capable of seating a large congregation. For some years the Rev. Jessie Hobson, the Secretary of the Star Life Insurance Company, was the pastor; he was the last who ministered here. In 1854 it was removed to the north of London, where it still stands, and I trust doing good work.

THE PRESENT CHURCH.

In the Church itself there is not much to attract special notice. The carved work of pulpit and altar rails is very massive and beautiful, and well worthy of examination. There was over the pulpit a most beautiful carved sounding board. Sad to relate this

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magnificent specimen of carved work was carted away in 1860. The oldest monument is dated 1695, a very handsome one, to the memory of Richard Godfrey, nephew of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whose mysterious death occurred in the reign of James II. Michael Godfrey had been sent to the camp of King William, who was then besieging Namur, and venturing too near the enemy's fire was killed by a cannon ball while standing close to the King. His body was brought over and interred in the Church. The monument was erected by his mother, Mrs. Ann Godfrey, to the memory of an only son.

ST. MARY BOTHAW.

There is no doubt that the name of St. Mary Bothaw is derived from a Boat House or Haw, that was connected with Dowgate Dock, the stream running up Walbrook into Barge Yard in Bucklersbury, the added name being given it to distinguish it from the other churches of which there are so many dedicated to St. Mary.

As early as the year 1117, we read that Wibert the Prior, and the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, granted certain lands and houses on the north side of the Church to one Anis and his heirs for an annual payment of 10*s*.

Robert Chichely, who was Lord Mayor in 1422, was a parishioner. He appointed by his will that on his birthday a complete dinner should be ordered for 2,400 poor men, householders of the City, and every man to have 2½*d*. in money. He also gave a plot of ground in Walbrook whereon to build the new Parish Church of St. Stephen.

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In the old Church Yard of St. Mary Bothaw in Turnwheel Lane [which I very well recollect], there was a small remaining portion of the East wall of the Church. This Church Yard is now covered by the Cannon Street Railway Station. In this Lane stood, before the Fire, a large mansion which belonged to Edward III. It passed through various vicissitudes until the year 1584, when Sir Thos. Pullison, then Lord Mayor, rebuilt it. The house afterwards became the residence of the celebrated discoverer, Sir Francis Drake. It was destroyed in 1666, and not rebuilt.

There was a tablet in the old Church to the effect that:

"This Church was repaired and beautified at the charge of the Parishioners in the year of Our Lord, 1621. John Bennett, Thomas Digby, Churchwardens."

There was in the Church a monument to Queen Elizabeth with this inscription:

"Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c., Daughter to King Henry VIII, and Grandchild to King Henry VII, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Having restored true religion, reduced coyne to the just value, assisted France and the Low Countries, and overcome the Spanish Invincible Navy, enriched all England, and administered most prudently the Imperial State thereof 45 years in true piety, in the 70th year of her age, in most happy and peaceable manner she departed this life, leaving her mortal parts interred in the famous Church at Westminster. 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course.'"

The Church had a small cloister, and it is worthy of remark that in this Church was buried the first Mayor of London, Henry Fitz Alwyn, who died 1190. He had a house in the Parish. There was a monument to his memory, and his arms were emblazoned in the windows.

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June 11th, 1349:

"John, son of Adam de Salisburi Pepper, to be buried in the Church of St. Mary Bothaw. To Johanna, his wife, £250 sterling, her entire chamber, with robes, jewels, chests, &c., thereunto appertaining; all his vessels of gold, silver, brass, iron, and wood, also quit-rent of a shop formerly held by Antony de Gisors, and Johanna, his wife, at the corner of Soper Lane, in the parish of St. Antholin for life. To Agnes, his mother, tenements in the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, for life, subject to a charge of six marks annually towards a chauntry in the Church of St. Mary Bothaw—remainder to the Rector and parishioners for similar uses. An iron-bound chest is to be deposited in the aforesaid Church, and in it are to be placed forty pounds sterling, to be lent to poor parishioners of the same upon certain securities to be repaid at a fixed time so that no loan exceed sixty shillings, and the security must be greater than the loan. Three parishioners to have each a key to the said chest, so that it might be opened and closed, with the consent of all three, and one of his executors to have one of the said keys in his custody, so long as he shall reside in the parish."

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ST. JAMES GARLICKHITHE.

BY THE

REV. HENRY DANVERS MACNAMARA, M.A.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, on the 12th March, 1895.

THE principal object of my address to you to-day will be to hand to the Secretary of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society a complete list of parish books of the united parishes of which I am rector.

These are the parishes of St. James Garlickhithe (which is now the principal parish), St. Michael Queenhithe, and Holy Trinity-the-Less.

In the course of making the list, one or two suggestions have occurred to me, which I thought might be interesting to the society. At the same time I would ask you to believe that I am only mentioning a few of the many objects of interest in these books. The time at my disposal has not enabled me to do more than give a very cursory glance at their contents. It is possible that I may ask your indulgence to allow me to give another contribution at a future time.

The present parish of St. James Garlickhithe is a combined parish, consisting of

(1) St. James Garlickhithe,
(2) St. Michael Queenhithe,
(3) Holy Trinity-the-Less.

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All these churches were destroyed in the Great Fire. St. James Garlickhithe and St. Michael Queenhithe were rebuilt after the fire by Sir Christopher Wren. The church of Holy Trinity-the-Less, though rebuilt, was not the parish church ; the parish of Holy Trinity-the-Less being united to that of St. Michael Queenhithe.

The church of St. Michael Queenhithe was destroyed in the year 1875, under the Union of Benefices Act, and the church of St. James Garlickhithe became the parish church of those parishes.

The first book to which I wish to draw your attention, although it happens not to be the earliest made, is the register book of Holy Trinity-the-Less. This is a very interesting document, both for itself, and, as I hope to show you presently, by reason of its contents, although I admit *primâ facie* a mere list of names does not form a promising field for a paper before a learned society.

The register book commences in 1547, and, as far as it goes, is interesting as showing that neither the first visitation of the Plague in 1547, nor the two visitations of the sweating sickness which have left their mark in our Prayer Book in the Office of the Communion of the Sick, were very fatal in the parish.

The point to which I wish to draw your attention, and which is a very interesting one, arises from the connection of Henry Machyn, the well-known diarist, with the parish.

Henry Machyn's Diary was published by the Camden Society in 1848. It is called the "Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen of London, from 1550 to 1563." Thirteen very eventful years.

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The preface, which deals somewhat with Machyn's life, observes that :—

"The writer was a citizen of London, of no great scholarship or attainments, as his language and cacography testify, sufficiently prejudiced no doubt, and not capable of any deep views either of religious doctrine or temporal policy, but the matters of fact which he records would be such as he either witnessed himself or had learned immediately after their occurrence, and the opinions and sentiments which he expresses would be shared by a large proportion of his fellow citizens." (Preface, p. 5.)

The editor, Mr. John Gough Nichols, observes that the diary had been made known by Strype, and, in point of fact, for some period it forms a valuable portion of Strype's book. (Preface, p. 6.)

The editor then speculates as to whom Machyn was. The editor says (Preface, p. 11) that by some he has been taken for a Herald, or at least a painter employed by the Heralds. The editor thinks he was an undertaker. The editor truly observes that this parish was what he calls Trinity-the-Little by Queenhithe, and suggests that in the vicinity of Painter Stainers' Hall, in Trinity Lane, would live many of the workmen with whom he had to do.

The editor concludes (Preface, p. 12) :

"And the circumstance of the Diary, closing at a time when the Plague was prevalent in London, renders it not impossible that the author was a victim of that deadly scourge."

So much for the editor's speculation as to Henry Machyn.

What I am going to say will prove, I think, the extreme advantage of a list such as the London and Middlesex Archæological Society has now asked for, and to which I believe I am—and, if I am, I am

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proud to be it—the first contributor. If this list had existed Mr. J. Gough Nichols would have known where to look for further particulars as to Henry Machyn.

In the middle of important things, such as the burning of three men and a woman for heresy, the obsequies of several worthy people, and details of the war with France, appears the following entry (Diary, p. 153):

"The xxv day of September was browth a bed with a whenche be-twyn 12 and one at midnight, where-of my gossep Harper, servant unto the quen('s) grace, was dyssessed of rest in ye nest, and after he whent to ye nest a-gayn."

I suppose the doctor's "nest" was his bed. The next entry refers to the christening of the child:

"The xxvij of September was crystened Katheryn Machyn the doythur of Hare Machyn, the godmother's names Masteres Grenway, Master Altherman('s) wyff, and Masters Blackwelle and Master Grenuelle godfather, and at byshoping the godmother's name Masteres Johnsun in Ive lane."

There seems no doubt that the diarist is, in these entries, speaking of his wife and of himself under the name of Harry Machyn.

Upon turning to my Holy Trinity-the-Less register I find duly entered that on the

"27th September, 1557, Katheryn, daughter of Henry Machyn, was christened."

This is the first step to identify the diarist with this parish.

The Diary, to which, however, I shall again presently have to refer, closes on 3rd August, in the year 1563.

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In the previous month of June, Machyn notices the fact that the plague was in London, and the manuscript, which is very imperfect, says that:

"Those, in whose house the plague had been, were not to come to church for a certain space after that the plague had been,"

and adds:

"and so a cross was set up at either door of blew and a writing under."

The fact that the cross was of blue marked that the plague to which he was referring was then at Westminster, and not in the City; had he been writing of the City he would have mentioned that the cross was red, the fact being that in Westminster, blue wands were carried before the officers, and in London, red wands; and the cross upon the door which was blue in Westminster was red in London.

In passing I may observe that the City Police bear a red badge, and the Metropolitan Police blue, though whether this is only a coincidence or not I am not sure.

By the following month, viz., July, the plague had come into the City, and Machyn duly notes the fact that:

"Fires were ordered to be lighted in every street and lane on Wednesdays and Fridays to cesse the plague in the City if it please God so."

On the 4th August, Machyn notices there was a mandate from the Lord Mayor that a man should be hired to kill dogs found in the streets. This was a very usual precaution in the plague time, it being supposed that dogs and cats, being domestic animals, carried the infection from one house to another. Whether this is true is not so clear, but the same practice prevails all over the Levant during plague time, and our City parish books are full of entries as to the killing of stray dogs.

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The last entry in the book appears to be upon the 8th day of August.

We now turn to the Registers to show us what the condition of the plague was in the parish.

Apparently it must have begun shortly after the commencement of the month of July. During the preceding year, between the months of July and December, seven persons died in all in the parish of all diseases. Between the 1st of July and the 1st of December in the year 1563, sixty-five died, between nine and ten times as many as in the previous year. Some of the parishioners were more severely visited than others. In thirteen houses there were more than one death. Six in the household of a parishioner named Naylor died, five in that of Griffin, and four in that of Sturton, the latter being, as I believe, a person of some position in the parish. On the 11th of September, among the entries of burials, there is the following entry :

"John Sonne, the son of John Sonne, and servant of Henry Machin."

There can, I think, be no doubt that this was a servant of the diarist, and that he brought the plague into his master's house. The register next shows that on the 11th November, Henry Macham, Taylor, Clerk of the Parish Church of Trinity-the-Less was buried. There is not the slightest doubt that this entry records the burial of the diarist. The unfortunate loss of the vestry, minute, and account books, makes it impossible for us to know if Machyn's house was shut up for the fixed period of forty days or six weeks. The plague was still in the parish on the 11th November. This

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is evidenced by the death of more than one of the same family, both before and after the death of Henry Machyn.

This seems to me to solve some of the doubts expressed by the editor, as in Machyn's Diary we find the christening of Katheryn Machyn duly entered on the date recorded by the diarist; we find the burial of his servant on the 11th of September, and we find his own burial on the 11th of November, with the further information that he was Clerk of the Parish Church.

This last piece of information is of genuine interest. Henry Machyn was no doubt a member of the Clerks' Company. There seems no question that he was not a herald. Whether he was an undertaker or not is a fact which it would be difficult to prove; I do not think he was. He had abundant access, from being a parish clerk, and of necessity a member of the Clerks' Company, to all the information he gives as to funerals in the City, most of which he would, in his capacity of a member of the Clerks' Company, attend.

There is abundant reference to the Company of Clerks throughout the Diary, and in 1560 and again in 1562, Machyn describes the dinner which he calls the Clerks' dinner on one occasion at Carpenters' Hall, and on another at their own Hall. Throughout the book are notices of the presence of the Clerks' Company at funerals, at which it was usual for them to attend, and to take a prominent part in the service, sometimes in their gowns and sometimes in surplices.

It is clear that he was a member of the Company in 1551, as he mentions the fact of the King's Receiver, Chester, in 1551, taking possession of the Hall of the

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Company of Clerks, and makes his observations both upon the Corporation itself and upon Mr. Chester, whom he

"prays God will give ill speed to."

From the quasi-religious duties of the Parish Clerks an attempt was made to treat and support their Company as a religious guild. The attempt, fortunately, failed and the duties of the Clerks, such as assisting at funerals, continued.

I think it therefore most likely that in the fact that he was the Parish Clerk of Trinity-the-Less, Queenhithe, we have come to the reason of Machyn's knowledge of funerals, his interest in them, and the extent to which he participated in them.

But before I quit the register, as I must do presently, in order to come to some of the general topics of interest in the other books, I must mention one or two details in which he refers to the parish, regretting as I do that I cannot always treat them as complimentary.

He duly records the fact that in 1556, in the reign of Philip and Mary, three altars were consecrated in the church by the Suffragan of Norwich.

In the following year he gives an account of a shooting match (Diary, page 132) in which the parish took part, on the 19th April, 1557, in Finsbury Fields. The shooting match was followed by a regular parish entertainment. Unfortunately, in the course of this the diarist is not so explicit as it would have been wished. It appears that the Parson whose name was Sir Thomas Chambers, took in hand the entertainment of the wives of the Parish, and entertained them first at the "Barleybrake," which probably was a publichouse

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at Finsbury. At this house the diarist, no doubt being wrong in his spelling, says that the Parson "entered into Hell," and during the time he was at the "Barley-brake" apparently continued in the fire! Afterwards, having revived, he went to Hogston, where he and the wives of the Parish apparently indulged in bread and beer, and claret and ale. On their way home they came to the "Swan," in Whittington College, to one, Master Fulmer (a victualler), and there finished up with further "good cheer." The diarist adds at the end that, which all must be thankful for, "and paid for it." Mr. Gough Nichols adds a footnote to the effect that the paragraph is clearly written as printed, and seems to commemorate some wild merrymaking of the diarist's parish. But Sir T. Chambers had other wild work.

To go out of chronological order I go to two years later, 1559 (Diary, page 205), when the same Sir Thomas Chambers, having apparently returned from Winchester (in circumstances suspiciously like that which must have happened at the parish entertainment) was carrying a bottle with him that he had brought from Winchester. Sir Thomas Chambers, after arriving at his parish at Queenhithe, met a young servant man, with whose mistress, to use the diarist's words, Sir Thomas Chambers "had dealt naughtily" the Friday before. When the young man reproached him for this Sir Thomas Chambers hit him on the head with the bottle. For this assault he was taken to the Wood Street counter, and afterwards to Bridewell. When he was there—he was visited by many of his parishioners—probably to jeer at him—to whom he said he would not tarry long, and desired them to get another priest to serve his turn.

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From the above you will observe that my predecessor in the parish of Queenhithe, Sir Thomas Chambers, does not seem to have distinguished himself. With respect to him I will only say that up to the dissolution of the monasteries the gift of the living of Holy Trinity Queenhithe, was in the monastery of St. Mary Overie. On the suppression of that monastery Henry VIII gave the presentation of the living to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Sir T. Chambers was presented to Holy Trinity by them. No doubt he was some unsatisfactory "mass priest." After leaving Holy Trinity he was presented by the same Dean and Chapter to St. Mary Bothaw. He only remained there a short time. Probably he went from bad to worse. There is one and only one other item (although there are many others in the Diary to which I should wish to refer you) with which I propose to trouble you with.

In 1557-8 (page 165) Machyn refers to the death of Master Arthur Sturton, Squire, who was the receiver of all copes of gold taken out of all churches in King Edward VI time, and which copes were delivered back in Queen Mary's time to certain parishes "again to them that could know them," if they had not been given to other places in the realm of England. Machyn adds but

"Trinity parish had not their cope of cloth of gold again."

You will remember that I noticed the fact that in the family of Sturton there were four deaths of the plague in the year 1563, and no doubt the family of that name residing in Holy Trinity-the-Less was the same family as that of the Receiver of Copes. But I cannot help thinking that Machyn was remiss (if he,

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as parish clerk, could not get his own cope) in not getting somebody else's, for it was quite obvious there was a general scramble, and the principle of first come first served prevailed.

Time does not permit of me saying more about the Machyns, but you will easily have gathered from what I have said that in dealing with the parish of Queenhithe and the adjoining parishes, much could be got illustrating his Diary from my books.

I do not like to leave the Holy Trinity register books without saying a few words about the epidemics of the plague. As you all know, after the year 1563 the principal plagues were in 1593, 1603, 1625, and 1665. The earlier book only extends as far as 1653, and for the last plague I have to go to the later register. The short details connected with the plagues are as follows :—

I have already mentioned that in the year 1563 sixty-five died in the plague time between July and December.

In the year 1593 sixty-six, or one more, died within the same period.

In 1603, within the same period, 112 died.

In 1625, between the same periods, 128 died, and

In 1666, between the same periods, eighty-one died.

Probably the parish was as full in the year 1666 as it could hold. Parishes in the City generally increased in population during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, were stationary in King Charles I reign, slightly diminished in the time of the Commonwealth, and increased again in the time of King Charles II until the fire of London, so that

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we can from these facts collect that the plague of 1665, which has the name of the Great Plague of London, was less formidable in this parish than were either of the two preceding plagues of 1625 and 1603, and this is, I believe, the general experience throughout the City, although, as will be presently seen, this plague in the adjoining parish of St. James Garlickhithe, was very severe.

This register commences in 1535, one of the two oldest books in the City. It is described as the "Book of Registrie belonging unto St. James by Garlickhithe."

The first entry of marriage is dated 26th January, 1535, of Thomas Mannering and Margaret Jordan. The first christening is dated 18th November, 1535, Edward Butler. The first burial 7th January, 1535.

This book is particularly interesting because it is one of the few registers which commence prior to the injunction of Henry VIII prescribing that all parishes were to keep registers of marriages, christenings, and burials.

Although no injunction was issued until 1538 there is reason to believe that an order had been issued as early as 1534.

This book, as all the earlier books were, is written on paper, and the entries are in those columns commencing with the marriages, the middle column for christenings, and the third column for burials.

Quite at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign a further order was made directing that all registers were to be written on vellum. In consequence of this order the whole of the registers in the City were recopied into vellum books. In some few instances

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the original paper books have been preserved, but in most instances they have been destroyed. The practice, however, continued for a long time of first writing the memoranda on paper and writing up the parchment book at stated intervals. In this way in the parish of St. James Garlickhithe, there are concurrent books, one on paper, the other on parchment. The earlier paper book continues to the year 1621, the last entry of marriage being on the 4th March, 1621, between Richard Wilkinson, scarfe maker, and Katherine Allen, spinster, both of the parish. The last christening is that of Herbert Colebrooke, baptised on the 24th March, 1621. The last burial is of Mary, the servant of Edward Smith, cooper, dated 6th March, 1621.

In the year 1550 it appears that there were 10 marriages, 14 christenings, and 14 burials. In the year 1600 there were 5 marriages, 28 christenings, and 23 burials.

In the year 1594 is the first entry in the margin relating to a burial in the church, and the entries continue for some time in the same way. This is varied occasionally by the word "cloister."

The handwriting varies a good deal, and is very good up to the end of the 16th century.

It is curious to note the immense number of persons who were buried in the church. This was caused by the desire of the parish to increase the revenue by the burial fees.

It will be remembered that in 1593 the second recorded series of plagues broke out in the City of London. The plague had been, in fact, introduced into the City in the autumn of 1692, and the burials

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already began to be heavy from the 16th August, in 1592, up to December, and there are 31 deaths recorded during that period.

There were no deaths recorded after January, 1593.

The burials then commence again in the next year in the month of June, and up to the 21st December there were 125 deaths recorded ; the majority of these took place in August, September, and October.

In the year 1594 the plague stopped, and as against 125 deaths between June and December, 1593, there were only 20 deaths during the whole of 1594.

The plague broke out again in 1603, and in this year it appears to have begun earlier, as there are several entries in the month of April. There appear to have been 144 deaths between the middle of August and the end of the year. During that time a little letter "p" is placed opposite the name of the entry, but the words "church" and "plague" appear together, recording the well-known fact that some of those who died of the plague were buried in the church.

The entries also continue in the year 1604, and there for the first time appears in August the words, "new Churchyard," which had, no doubt, to be provided in consequence of the great mortality. The word "plague" occurs in 1605, and again in 1606, towards the latter part of the year, and also in the year 1608, 1609, 1611, and there is one in the year 1618.

In the year 1625 the plague again visited the parish.

There is no heading to the burials in 1625. Between 27th June, 1625, and the 23rd March, 1625, there were 156 deaths.

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If the register is carefully looked at it will be seen that one of the pages has been cut out with a knife. It is interesting that in one of the books reference is made to the excising from the register of some sheets.

There is no doubt that the plague was going on intermittently from the year 1625 to at least the year 1650, but it was comparatively light; in some years more burials and in some less are recorded.

In the year 1665—the great year of the plague—the parish was very severely visited. In it there were no less than 284 deaths. In 1666 there were only five deaths, but these and the few deaths in 1667 were in a measure due to the entire destruction of the parish at the Great Fire, and the subsequent dispersion of the parishioners.

Up to that date it does not appear that the cause of death was, as a rule, entered, but after that entries began to be made, and there are such remarks:—Died of Consumption, Dropsy, Gripe of the Guts, Yellow Jaundice, Lethargy, King's Evil, Convulsions, Small Pox, Rising of the Lights, Worms, "Stopage of the Stomake" and the Tooth. What the "Tooth" may mean I do not know. The small-pox about this time appears to have been pretty prevalent.

In the year 1674 there is an entry of a person dying of Cancer of the Tongue, but Consumption, Stoppage of the Stomach, and Convulsions appear to have been the most common complaints.

The parchment book goes as far as the year 1692. The other end of the book contains the marriages during the time of the Commonwealth in 1653, before a Justice of the Peace. These entries go on during 1654, 1655, 1656, and the last is dated the 23rd April,

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1657. The entries are prefixed by the usual notice referring to the Act of the Commonwealth, and the notice is dated 21st September, 1653. (I have not time to deal with the more modern books.)

The next book that I take will be the first Vestry Book.

This book commences in the year 1615, and ends in 1693.

The book commences with a recital that on the 25th October, 1615, there was a vestry meeting at which it was decided to record the vestry proceedings in a book. A list is then given of the persons who were to compose the vestry, numbering 29 in all, commencing with the name of Mr. Alderman Gore, merchant tailor. The parson's name was Mr. Edward Marbury, and the two churchwardens James Munger and Roger Fuller. It appears that it was afterwards necessary in 1640 to increase the number of the vestry, so as to secure the presence of a quorum.

In the usual payments on page 219 of the No. 2 Account Book, commencing 1627, will be found an entry of 4s. 6d., paid for six quires of Dutch paper for enlarging the Vestry Book, and 8*s.* 6*d.* paid for new binding the new Vestry Book with brass bosses and clasps. These clasps are still on the book. The entry of this is in 1665.

The book contains the ordinances and the manner in which the business of the vestry was to be conducted, as follows :—

"(1) Every man was by an order thereinafter contained :—

"(2) Every vestryman shall act when lawfully warned, and in default he shall pay the fine of 7d. to the poor-box.

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"(3) The vestrymen to behave reverently and decently towards one another in speeches. A fine of paying —— to the poor-box. [The amount is not given.]

"(4) Every vestryman is to bear or account for such purpose as he shall be duly chosen to, or be excluded from the vestry.

"(5) Every vestryman is to pay seasonable dues.

"(6) Three or four candidates were to be put up for election to supply a vacancy, and the one who had the majority of voices was to be elected.

"(7) That the vestry was to be composed of not less than the parson, two churchwardens, and 13 others.

"(8) The churchwardens to provide sureties.

"(9) The collectors for the poor were to keep the money collected, and render an account of it.

"(10) The successor of any person leaving the parish to pay the same poor-rate as his predecessor.

"(11) That all strangers were to pay the same for weddings, christenings, and burials.

"(12) That the articles were fully agreed upon on the 15th October, 1615."

It will be noticed that in Section 8 the senior churchwarden is described as the "auntient," and he was the person who had the parish property in his hands.

The signatures of Marbury and of Fuller and Munger, the rector, and two churchwardens, appear. Here it may be mentioned that it has always been the right in the City for the parishioners to elect the churchwardens, and the rector and churchwardens are a Corporation.

The first part of the book contains a number of wills covering some thirty or forty pages.

On 7th March, 1621, there is an entry relating to the repairing the chancel of the church, and in 1624 (on page 23) there is a petition to the Bishop of

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London reciting that it was necessary to spend £400 in addition to the sum which had then been collected for the repairing of the church.

The Bishop's name was George Monteign. He was Bishop of London from 1621 to 1628.

It appears from one of the entries that the parish clerk was also a schoolmaster, and had payments made him called "exhibitions" apparently for the education of parish scholars. It dawned upon the parish that he was continuing to receive these payments though he had no scholars. The parish also found out the clerk had bettered himself by marriage with a rich lady, and thereupon the vestry naturally determined to stop these payments, but it cost two meetings before they arrived at a conclusion.

In the year 1627 it appears that the churchwardens refused to give the usual bond or security, and then the vestry passed a resolution to the effect that no man could be churchwarden unless he pays £5 or gives a bond.

In the same year we find that a further sum of £200 was borrowed towards repairing the church, and the money was borrowed from a Mr. Dredge, merchant tailor, at six per cent.

In the year 1637 there is an entry relating to a rate to be laid upon the parishioners for the payment of the debt and interest on the money borrowed for the repairing of the church. It appears that at this time there was a sum of £600 still due in respect of the repairing of the church, and this resolution may be taken as an early instance of a "Church Rate" being levied.

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In 1640 a committee of investigation numbering twelve was appointed to view and examine the parish, and to report on the condition of the church and the poor. Seven of them were to be a quorum. On the 8th February the committee reports :—The first two clauses of the report refer to leases—the (3rd) to clerk's wages ; (4) To a dinner to be arranged ; (5) That the Communion wine was to be paid for out of the Communion money ; (6) Relates to the housing and entertainment of the poor ; (7) Prescribes that leases were not to be granted for longer than a certain period, but the period is not stated ; (8) The vestry books were to be kept with alphabets and numbered throughout ; (9) A roll was to be made of the tenements; (10) That a scribe was to be employed. Nos. 8 and 10 do not seem to have been carried out.

In connection with clause 5 there is an entry in 1640 that every householder should pay 3*d.* a head once a year at Easter towards buying the Communion wine and bread. Strangers were to pay 6*d.* a head.

Troublous times were now coming to the church in the City, though to some extent the church brought it on herself. Mr. Marbury, who had been rector for so long, was also rector of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf. In 1642 the Parliament made him resign one or the other. He resigned St. James Garlickhithe, and Mr. Richard Freeman was appointed by the Bishop of London, who was then patron of the living.

In 1644 there is an entry showing that the internal fittings of the church had to be altered, and the arrangements were left to the churchwardens. This

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included the "reading place," the pulpit, and pews. There is an entry of this date also as to building a gallery.

In 1645 it appears that the parish had a disagreement with the Governor of Bridewell concerning one Parrott, and, the Governor of Bridewell apparently having threatened to take proceedings against the parish, it was ordered that the churchwardens should defend the parish by course of law against "them who do or shall impose upon us."

Continual reference is made to "Dunghill Stairs." This was apparently a property belonging to the parish which had been let on lease, and it was a continual source of trouble to the parish.

In 1647 there is an entry from which it appears that there had then been for some time past a suit relating to Dunghill Stairs to which Mr. Marbury, the parson, was a party. The parish authorised the payment of parish monies towards continuing the suit.

In consequence of an ordinance passed in the year 1647 Richard Freeman, who refused to discontinue the use of the Book of Common Prayer was deprived by an ordinance of the Parliament, and violently ejected from the living.

In 1648 there was an order to view the property of the parish. On the 13th December, 1648, there was a further entry relating to the Dunghill Stairs, from which it appears that the people got sick of this litigation, and tried to have the suit wound up.

In the year 1649 there is an entry of a payment of 10s. a week for nursing a parish child. In 1649 there

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is an entry of a Voluntary Church Rate, amounting to £9 in all. The churchwardens gave £1 each.

In the year 1649 there is an entry about a child who was found in the parish, and five persons were ordered to go to the Lord Mayor and see him on the subject.

In the year 1649 there is an inventory of the parish Parsonage House.

There is a long entry in the year 1649 relating to Dunghill Stairs lawsuit, Dunghill Stairs, in which details are given showing that the property had been leased for 40 years, colourable

"to one Thomas Taylor, In trust for the use of Edward Marbury for the benefit of the Parish."

Something must have been wrong with Thos. Taylor, because it is recited that the parish got no benefit out of the lease.

"In the end, by the blessing of God and with good endeavours and the wise and faithful proceedings of the Churchwardens, the Parishioners regained the property for the proper and primitive use, to the great honour and just praise of the Churchwardens, and to all who had any hand in the recovery of the said tenement out of the hands of unlawful and perfidious [spelt pffidous] men to the true intent of the donor, and the hearty thanks of the Parishioners present were given to the Churchwardens for the efforts they had made."

It would seem from the next entry that a judgment was obtained by consent, and that the parish entrusted to their old friend, Mr. Marbury, the settlement of the terms upon which the matter was to be closed.

It appears that there was a meeting on the 10th November, 1650, at which it was stated that the

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parish had been "for a long time without a clergyman." Some difficulty was experienced in getting the inhabitants to assemble for a vestry. Those that did assemble were told that they had the power of nominating their own minister, and they nominated one Mr. Lawrence Wise.

On the 22nd November, 1650 (that was a fortnight afterwards), a further meeting was held, at which it appears a benefaction had been given to Mr. Marbury, and it was arranged that a pension of £5 was to be given to him in his great need.

This entry is very interesting. Mr. Marbury had been evicted, as I have said, from his living, but it is clear the parishioners bore him no grudge.

In 1650 there is an entry prescribing that the bells should be sold, and new bells bought, and that a new steeple was to be built. The parish afterwards had great trouble in disposing of the bells.

It appears that Mr. Zachary Crofton, a well-known man, was elected minister, December 26, 1651. Entry to the effect that no person was to receive Holy Communion, practically unless he was approved of by minister and parish meeting. At a meeting held January 28,

"Resolved—That Bread and Wine for Lord's Supper to be paid by collection at Holy Communion."

At a meeting held February 18, a grant was made to Mr. Crofton to bring his family from Cheshire.

"June 10, 1652—Catechising was ordered to be held in Ye Gallery."

"June 19.—Four bells handed as a pledge to a Mr. Hetherley as a security for a debt, £72, for him to sell."

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Hetherley appears to have refused, and, August 9, the bells were pledged to Mr. Geo. Banks and Elizabeth his wife, for money due to him, on same conditions as before.

September 23, 1653. The Churchwardens were empowered to sell the bells, previous transactions having been unsuccessful.

October 4, 1654. Bells still unsold.

March 16. It seems at this time the parish got rid of Mr. Crofton, who received £20, and the parish decided to get a new minister. This is not an inappropriate place to say something about Mr. Zechariah Crofton. He was a very well-known man, and was one of the "Sweetmeats" with which the troublous times of the great rebellion presented the City, and the entry of February 18, 1651, is interesting, as showing from whence he came. My parish has the merit of introducing him to the City from Cheshire.

After he had been some time in this parish, where he certainly was not a peacemaker, he went to the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, and in the meantime got himself appointed lecturer in divers parishes. When he was Incumbent of Aldgate he tried to get himself appointed Rector of St. Bartholomew by the Exchange. Failing in that, he had to continue in Aldgate until the Restoration. As the old Incumbent was still alive, Mr. Crofton was then ejected, and is claimed by the Puritans as a martyr.

In this connection it is interesting to say that Mr. Freeman is claimed by the Church Party as a martyr also, and it is a curious coincidence that the date of Mr. Freeman's ejection happens to be St.

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Bartholomew's Day, which was also the date of his restoration to his living.

May 2, 1655. It appears that many were invited to preach; the names were to be written on a sheet of paper, to be ballotted for. John Inge was chosen.

June 1. At a meeting of parishioners it appears Mr. Crofton had been making a disturbance, and the parish decided to take action in the matter.

November 16. A long letter was received from Mr. Crofton, complaining that the parish owed him money. Resolutions were passed for a settlement of his claim.

September 27, 1658. Mr. Inge's death reported.

On the Restoration Mr. Freeman, who had survived the rebellion, got his living back again, and continued until his death.

The Vestry Book contains no reference to politics, and there is a gap between June 19, 1665, and February 15, 1676. In the entry dated 1664, probably July 26, there is the following entry:—

"This Vestry Book was now embossed."

1676. There appear the usual orders relating to levying of money and appropriation of £500 towards rebuilding of church.

Copy of warrant for first £500 appears on page 154.

February 13, 1681. The entry relates to a quarrel between the Rector James Burk and the parishioners, it appearing that James Burk, and probably the churchwarden, had declined to mortgage certain premises towards raising further funds to complete the church, and that Chancery proceedings were to be taken to compel them to do so.

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July 19, 1682. An entry appears that Mr. Thomas Osborn, then churchwarden, was to pay Sir C. Wren's two clerks 40*s*. apiece, for their care and kindness in hastening the building of the church, and to induce them to do the like for the more speedy finishing of the steeple.

In Account Book (p. 284b) there is an entry "to Mr. Philips and Mr. Scargrowe, £4;" same time, "at Black Swan, 1*s*. 3*d*., and spent on them 2*s*." May we not infer that these two gentlemen were Sir C. Wren's clerks? (Return for year ending Easter, 1683.)

The Account Book is full of interesting memoranda.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PEWTERERS' COMPANY.

BY

CHARLES WELCH, Esq., F.S.A.,

Hon. Secretary.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held at Skinners' Hall.

THE Pewterers' Company are said by Stow to have been originally a company or meeting of friendly and neighbourly men associated together as a society or fellowship of persons actually carrying on the trade from which they took their name. The Company certainly existed as a fraternity long before its incorporation, but no record exists illustrating its history earlier than the 22nd year of Edward III, 1348 A.D., when ordinances for the regulation of the trade were granted by the Mayor and Aldermen upon the petition of the good folks, makers of vessels of pewter in the City of London. These ordinances are entered at length in the ancient Book of Records given to the Company by Robert Chamberlain. The document is an interesting specimen of early English, and its existence in this form has hitherto been unknown. It was enrolled in the City records in Latin and Norman French, and has been turned into modern English by Riley, in his "Memorials of London and London Life."

From several expressions in the document it would appear that a trade fellowship or mystery existed at this early period, mention being made of "freemen" and "wardens," and of power in the latter

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to oust offenders from the trade. The ordinances also give proof of the jealousy of these early craftsmen for the credit of their trade, which they sought to protect from the practices of dishonest workmen and dealers. Although we cannot consider their action as entirely disinterested, we must yet concede that it was doubtless owing to the high standard of workmanship and commercial probity aimed at in these ordinances, and the successful efforts of the Company through a long period of years to give them full effect, that the good reputation of English pewter for quality and workmanship was secured and maintained. The ordinances provide that "three or four of the most lawful and the most skilful in the trade may be chosen to oversee the alloys and the workmanship," with power to bring offenders before the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen.

Two kinds of pewter of different qualities are specified: the first, which is called finite pewter, contained such proportion of brass to tin "as, of its own nature, it will take." The articles proper to be made of this fine pewter were esquelles, salt cellars, platters, chargers, pitchers squared, cruets squared, and chrismatories, and other things that are made squared or ribbed. The second quality was composed of an alloy consisting of 1 cwt. of tin and 26 lbs. of lead. Articles of this material were called vessels of tin, and comprised rounded pots, cruets, and candlesticks, and other rounded vessels that belonged to the trade.

No person was allowed to intermeddle with the trade who had not been either an apprentice or otherwise a lawful workman known and tried among them. No one was permitted to bring any pewter goods into the City for sale before the material had been assayed

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by the Wardens, on peril of forfeiture of such wares, and no one of the trade was to make privily in secret vessels of lead or of false alloy for sending out of the City to fairs and markets for sale, to the scandal of the City and the damage and scandal of the good folks of the trade. The penalties for disobedience of these provisions were, upon the first default, loss of the material so wrought; upon the second, loss of the material and punishment at the discretion of the Mayor and Aldermen; and upon being found guilty a third time, the offenders were to forswear the trade for evermore.

The following curious provision of these ancient ordinances also deserves mention: "The good folks of the trade have also agreed that no one shall be so daring as to work at night upon articles of pewter, seeing that the sight is not so profitable by night, or so certain as by day, to the profit, that is, of the community."

The next entry in the Book of Records declares that the craft made ordinances without the authority of the Mayor and Aldermen, before whom the offenders were summoned on November 19th, xvii Henry VI, A.D. 1438, and the said ordinances were then and there annulled. The pewterers made due submission, and approached the Court of Aldermen with a petition addressed to "the full honourable Lords and Sovereigns, Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London," requesting the sanction of the Court to their new ordinances, so far as they be good and reasonable.

The original oath of the Pewterers, which was afterwards superseded by one of much greater length, provided simply for obedience to the good rules of the craft, and keeping its counsels in due secrecy. It

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ended as follows: "And also ye shall worshep owre brethren of the Pewterers which ben ye brethren of our Lady and soccor and help in every place, so it be not hindering to yourself ne to your worshep, so help you God and our holy Dame, and by this boke, kiss the boke."

An order was enrolled in the City records [letter-book K, folio 176] in the year 1430, to prevent the manufacture of pewter of light weight, a practice then very prevalent. It contains the earliest list, which I have met with, of the standard sizes and weights for the various kinds of pewter ware:—

	Weight per dozen.	Weight per piece.
Largest chargers - - -	3 qrs.	7 lbs.
Chargers, next size - - -	60 lbs.	5 „
„ middle - - -	39 „	3¼ „
„ small hollow - -	33 „	2¾ „
Platters, largest size - - -	30 „	—
„ next size - - -	27 „	—
„ middle - - -	24 „	—
„ small middle - -	22 „	—
Dishes, largest size - - -	18 „	—
„ middle size - - -	14 „	—
„ King's - - - -	16 „	—
„ small - - - -	12 „	—
„ hollow - - - -	11 „	—
„ small hollow - - -	10 „	—
Saucers, largest size - - -	9 „	—
„ middle - - -	7 „	—
„ next the middle - -	6 „	—
„ small - - - -	4 „	—
Galley dishes and galley saucers, greatest size - - -	12 „	—

Also xiiij dishes and xiiij saucers weighing of the next Galey mold.

	Weight per dozen.
Small dishes of galley and galley saucers -	12 lbs.
Cardinal's hatte and saucers - - -	15 „
Florentine dishes and Florentine saucers, greatest size - - - - -	13 „
Next Florentine dishes and saucers - -	12 „
Small bolles - - - - - -	13 „

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In 1444, July 10th, it appears from the City records that the Wardens of the Mystery of Pewterers were allowed to claim a fourth part of all the tin brought into the City whether by land or by sea. On the same day it was likewise ordered, in consequence of the complaints of "the multitude of tin which was untrue and deceyvable brought to the City, the defaults not being perceptible until it comes to the melting," that the Company should have the right to search and assay all the tin which was brought into the City of London.

From the first yearly account, 1451-2, in the Book of Wardens' Accounts, we learn that the usual admission fee for one of the brethren or "sustren" of the craft was 6*s.* 8*d.*, with a further charge for quarterage amounting for the whole craft for this year to 57*s.* One John Sogowe, a Cornishman, was charged £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for his admission. The receipts included a balance in hand kept in the common box of £10 15*s.* 7*d.* Then follow fees for entries or admissions of new brethren, fines, and quarterages, amounting to £6 10*s.* 4*d.* The gifts and bequests for the year, amounting to £21 8*s.* 6*d.*, complete the income of the craft, making a total of £39 4*s.* 11*d.*

The items of expenditure are more numerous, and include payments to almsmen, 24*s.*; the waxchandler for making of the wax at three times, 8*s.* 9*d.*; hire of a barge "at ye goyng of the shereves to Westminster, 5*s.*;" one penny for points for the banner cloths; and "2*d.* yove to the bargemen to drynke;" to the Friars Augustines, 2*s.* (this was for the hire of the hall at Austin-friars on election day); to clerks the day of the mass, 2*s.*; for making and painting of Judas staves, 9*d.*; for the burying of Thomas Lamb, 16*d.*;

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"law costs in a sute in the Meyre's Court" between the craft and Piers Wells' executors amounted to 2*s.* 10*d.*; a final charge of 12*d.* for making, writing, and engrossing up of the account, completes the payments, which amount to 46*s.* 11*d.* The substantial balance of £36 17*s.* is left by the wardens of this year to their successors.

In the next year's accounts, 1452-3, occurs the following payment: "Item, paid to a clerk of the Chancery that arrested John Turner and William Stroud, for his reward in labouring to search for statutes and other things to the intent to labour to the Parliament for a charter for the craft to have search through England, 5*s.*" The suit with Piers Wells' executors ended satisfactorily as the next entry shows: "Item, expent in drinking with Piers Wells' executors at the receiving of the money 8*d.*"

In 1454–5 the costs at the "dirige" of the craft were, first, for bread 10*d.*; item for cheese, 9*d.*; item for nine gallons and a-half of ale, 19*d.*; total, 3*s.* 2*d.* In 1455–6 the payments include 2*s.* 8*d.* for mass done at Grey-friars on our Lady Day. The stringent rules under which membership of the craft was restricted in later times to persons actually engaged in the trade did not exist at this period. In 1456 one Thomas Downton, a mercer, was admitted as a brother of the craft at the ordinary fee of 6*s.* 8*d.*

The first list of brethren that pay quarterage occurs in 1456-7, and consists of 53 brethren and two wives of deceased brethren. It includes the name of William Smallwode, who gave the Company their Hall and other property in Lime Street. This list is followed by another of the names of covenant men and apprentices. Forty-three of the brethren are

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included, against each of whose names appear the names of the covenant or journeymen and apprentices in their employ. The number of these workmen employed by each master varies from seven journeymen and eleven apprentices to a single journeyman or apprentice. The total number of covenant men is thirty-four, of apprentices ninety-six, and of workmen not described twelve.

In 1456-7 the cost of the annual dinner of the craft was 32*s.* 5*d.* In the same year the costs at the "dirige" include, beside 8*d.* for bread and 10*d.* for cheese, the sum of 2*s.* for "a hole shepe for the Frerys." The list of brethren of the craft for 1458-9 includes fifty-two brethren and seven wives. The election feast for the same year cost 17*s.* 2*d.*, the details of which are as follows:—

"Enprymis ffor a kylderkyn off all ijs. ijd.
Item ffor ij pygys (pigs) xvjd.
Item ffor a gosse (goose) viijd.
Irem ffor iij capons iijs.
Item ffor ffychese ijs. iijd.
Item ffor wyn xxd.
Item ffor iij conyis (rabbits) viijd.
Item ffor xviij pygons (pigeons) xijd.
Item ffor moton xjd.
Item ffor bred xd.
Item ffor iiij checons (chickens) vijd.
Item ffor spyssys (spices) viijd.
Item ffor a stond off ale xijd.
Item ffor ffyrre iiijd.
Item ffor savse (sauce) jd."

A substantial repast, truly, though lacking, perhaps, in the culinary refinements and delicacies of later times.

The Company obtained their first charter of incorporation from Edward IV, in the year 1473-4,

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under which their power to search and assay all merchandise belonging to the craft was confirmed. In 1503-4, the 19th Henry VII, chap. 6, an Act of Parliament was passed to prevent the sale of pewter and brass at any place except an open fair or market, or in the dwelling-house of a pewterer. The Act also provided that the makers of pewter wares should "mark the same with several marks of their own to the intent that the makers of such wares shall avow the same wares by them to be wrought." This is the first compulsory provision of which I can find the record, for marking vessels with the makers' names, although many makers certainly used such marks previous to this date. The Act also prohibited the use of false scales and weights.

Under this Act certain ordinances were drawn up by the Company for carrying out its provisions, which were approved by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High Treasurer, and the Lord Chief Justice. They are entered in full in the Book of Records, without date, but were probably confirmed in the first year of Henry VIII. Among the provisions it is forbidden that members of the craft should "rebuke or revile each other with any opprobrious, evil, unconvenient, or ungoodly wordes." The Master and Wardens were ordered to search for defective wares five times in the year.

The Charter of Henry VII was confirmed and further extended by statutes of Henry VIII in the fourth and twenty-fifth years of his reign, the latter granted upon the petition of the Company, who complained that pewter vessels of inferior quality were imported from abroad. These imports were forbidden upon pain of forfeiture, and on the plea of maintaining

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the high quality of the English manufacture no foreigner was permitted to use the trade either as master, journeyman, or apprentice in England, and all English pewterers were forbidden to exercise their craft in strange regions or countries upon pain of losing the privilege and benefit of an Englishman.

The privileges of the Company were further confirmed and amplified by charters granted successively by Henry VIII, Philip and Mary, Queen Elizabeth, James I, and Anne. Under the last-mentioned charter the Company obtained powers to ordain new bye-laws for their government. These were approved on October 13th, 1702, and among the regulations are the following: To avoid abuses practised by persons of the mystery in counterfeiting of another man's work to gain credit to his own bad ware, each member was obliged to deliver to the master for the time being, "one peculiar and selected mark or touch solely and properly of itselfe and for yourselfe only without adding thereunto any other man's mark in part or in whole, to be struck and impressed on the plate kept in the hall of the said Company for that purpose, which said mark and none other he shall strike and sette upon his ware of whatsoever sort that he shall make and sell without diminution or addition, and shall, upon striking of such his mark or touch, pay to the renter warden 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* to the clerk for entering the same, and 6*d.* to the beadle"; the fine for disobedience of this provision was 40*s.* All pewter found on search to be untruly mixed, wrought, or unmarked, to pay 1*d.* per pound weight. All pewterers applauding or boasting of their goods and wares, and disparaging those of other pewterers,

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or improperly enticing the customers of another pewterer, to pay a fine of 40*s*.

In 1555 it was ordered that any member buying metal of tylors, labourers, boys, women, or suspected persons, or between 6 at night and 6 in the morning, if the metal should prove to have been stolen, should not only be dismissed the Company, but stand to such punishment as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen might direct.

In 1635 the Company contributed £10 towards the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, in response to a circular letter from the Bishop of London; and in 1657 occurs a curious minute to the following effect: —"The Court, having noticed that two companies had obtained leave for seats in Paul's, and that our Company was to be set upon forms at the lower end of the said companies," it was ordered that there should be a pew made for the Company, and the wardens to pay the charge of it.

Three years later, in 1660, it was ordered that only half the livery should be summoned to attend at St. Paul's on Thanksgiving days, their number being so great that the seat appointed for the Company could not contain them.

Many of the old traditions and formalities in use among the members of this ancient Company survived to comparatively modern times, and the Company is fortunate in having upon its Court a past master—Mr. Willoughby Mullins, whose personal experience, and the information he has obtained from members of his own family, who have long been connected with the Company, constitute him an authority upon its customs and history for several past generations. Mr. Mullins was also instrumental in saving many of the

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Company's records and other memorials at the time of their removal from the old hall; and I am indebted to this gentleman for much valuable information contained in this present paper. The election of the master and wardens takes place in August, and was formerly conducted with great ceremony. The company assembled early in the day, and went in procession to the church of St. Dionys Backchurch, the master being attended by two boy pages, who were styled his cup-bearers, and the wardens by one each. The Company then returned to their hall, and the newly-elected master and wardens were crowned with garlands, bearing the arms of the Company and other devices in silver. The members of the Company, all habited in their livery gowns, then went in procession to the dining hall, where the outgoing master and wardens, being served by the cup-bearers, drank to the health of their successors. The cups were then placed upon the table, and afterwards passed round the company in the ordinary use as loving cups. The cup-bearers were appointed from the sons of liverymen, and dined with the Company on the occasion. Mr. Mullins' earliest recollection connected with the Company is that of serving as cup-bearer on one of these occasions when a lad. This curious and interesting office is, as far as I am aware, unique in the annals of the livery companies, and has long been in disuse; but the ceremony of crowning the master and wardens is still continued.

The Company has not been remarkable for the civic honours attained by its members. Being sixteenth in order of precedence, and therefore not one of the twelve great companies, none of its members were until recent years eligible for the office of Lord Mayor.

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There is, on this point, a curious incident in connection with Sir Thomas Curtis, who was master of the Company in 1538, 1545, 1546, sheriff in 1546, and Lord Mayor in 1557. Curtis refused to comply with the old custom requiring Aldermen who were members of minor companies to translate to one of the twelve great companies upon being elected to the mayoralty. His refusal, in which he seems to have been heartily supported by his brother Pewterers, brought him into collision with the Court of the Aldermen, who, for his "wilful stiffness and disobedience diversely showed to My Lord Mayor and the whole Court," sent him to Newgate, there to remain until he should be obediently contented to stand to the order of the Court. This sentence was followed by a fine of 300 marks, and appears to have had its effect, for on January 12th, 1553, being eight days after his committal, he made due submission to the Court.

The list of civic dignitaries of the Company is completed by a few other names: Alderman John Catcher was master in 1585; Alderman James Phillips served that office 1651; and Thomas Gregg, who was three times master of the Company, was sheriff in 1674. Alderman Sir John Friar, master in 1710 and 1715, served the office of sheriff in the latter year, and was created Baronet, but never became Lord Mayor.

The only Pewterer, besides Sir Thomas Curtis, who attained the high dignity of Lord Mayor was the late Sir John Staples, K.C.M.G., who took the warmest interest in the affairs of the Company, and made much investigation into its history. I am indebted for several particulars contained in this present paper to the notes of Sir John Staples, which he, unfortunately, did not live to complete and publish.

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Some 250 years ago the master and wardens attended in Haberdashers' Hall, having been summoned thither by the Parliamentary Committee of Lords and Commons, which was then sitting at Haberdashers' Hall as a Court for adjustment of claims, the Parliament having seized upon the Companies' halls for its various committees, in order to tighten its hold upon the City finances, and assess the citizens to their last shilling. The Company's case was then truly deplorable. In October, 1640, they had been required to contribute £350 to the King, and in June, 1642, £700 to the Commonwealth. To raise this £1,050 they had been compelled to borrow money upon interest, and to sell all their plate. They were now required to furnish another £350, and after a vain appeal to the members of the Company for individual contributions, they were compelled by the committee to deliver in the rental of their lands, on November 20th, 1643. It is not surprising that, from this date, there is a gap in the Company's records until the year 1648. An association of a more pleasant character between the two Companies took place in 1664, when the Pewterers agreed with the Haberdashers' Company for the hire of part of their barge house at Lambeth. The lease was renewed in 1701, and the partnership existed until 1805, when the Pewterers' Company ceased to own a barge, and discontinued their practice of accompanying the Lord Mayor in his water processions.

The records of the Pewterers' Company include the title deeds of the Company's Hall and of six tenements adjoining, bequeathed to them by William Smallwood, a great benefactor of the Company, by his will dated August 23rd, 1487. His full-length

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portrait is preserved at Pewterers' Hall. These documents, fourteen in number, extend from 1391 to 1487. The charters of the Company form a very complete series. They commence with Edward IV's foundation grant, dated February 1st, in his thirteenth year, and include charters and confirmations by the following sovereigns: Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip and Mary, Elizabeth (two charters), James I (three charters), Charles II, and Anne. The portraits of the monarchs on the first skin, and the floriated headings and margins on many of the charters will repay a careful examination.

"The Book of Records" has been already quoted. This is a folio volume, 12 inches by 8½ inches, beautifully written upon vellum. A note on the verso of folio I quaintly records its gift by Robert Chamberlayn, citizen and Pewterer, of London, and Cecile his wife, on August 11th, 1463, and further states that the said Robert and Cecile "gave on the said day three garlands unto ye worship and cheesing of ye wardens of ye said craft and one thereof is garnished with silver and the arms of the craft thereon." Following the outer leaf is a finely-written calendar with illuminated initial letters. This is followed by a beautiful illumination representing the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, to whose honour the fraternity was dedicated. The opposite page is also finely illuminated. Besides the entries contemporary with the gift of the book, many others of later date have been added and interpolated. The volume is bound in stout wooden boards covered with leather, the back cover being much worm-eaten. It was formerly provided with metal clasps, which have all but disappeared. A paper label, of much later date, upon the front

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cover, wrongly describes the volume as bye-laws made in 1561, etc.

The "Book of Inventories" is a folio volume of much interest, written on paper, and in its original vellum binding. The front cover is much torn, and has been badly repaired. The first page contains an illuminated letter and the following title :—

"Thys is the booke of the Inventary of the goodys longgyng to the craft of pewterars within the Cyte of London."

The first inventory is thus described :—

"This Inventary apartenyng to the brethirhode of thassumpcion of our blessid lady of the Crafte of pewtrers of London was made the Vth yere of the Reingne of kynge Herry the vijth Thomas Alysandry than maist. Water Walsh and John Hyndsson than Wardens of the same brethirhode and crafte."

There are two points of special interest in these early inventories. First, they show that the possessions of the Company at this period were nearly all gifts from members, and for the most part made by a brother and his wife jointly, whilst not a few are made by ladies, probably the widows of deceased members; secondly, owing to the practical interest taken in the affairs of the fellowship by the goodwives aforesaid—wisely encouraged by the ruling body—Pewterers' Hall must have been one of the best furnished halls in the City. The articles enumerated include not only napery, "sponys," cups, tankards, and banners, but more substantial gifts, such as tables, forms, ladders, racks, and spits. Some of the vessels were made of metal seized by the Company in their trade searches.

The earliest Book of Accounts, to which I have already referred at length, is a beautifully

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written folio volume, extending from the year 1451 to 1530.

The Book of Orders of Court, beginning A.D. 1564, is a folio volume of paper, chiefly interesting for its leather binding. The front cover has a border of stamped ornaments, consisting of fleurs-de-lis and roses alternately with the curious impression of an ape. The body of the cover is divided into two compartments, separated by a scroll. The upper of these contains the name Jhesus, and the lower Maria, both in embossed characters. The book was given by William Curtis, in 1564, and contains a quaint representation in water colours of the Company's arms, with two angels as supporters. Only eight of the folios have been used, the remainder being blank.

Besides the older and more interesting books already described, the following should be mentioned to illustrate the Company's modes of procedure in their internal management and their control of the trade: first audit book, 1495 to 1530; first livery book, 1570 to 1680; country search book, 1669 to 1683; earliest tin ledger, 1634-5.

Among the miscellaneous relics of the Company are an ancient hour-glass, a box containing the assay implements used in the searches, a curious antique box containing the Company's seal, coat of arms belonging to the barge, views of the old hall in Lime Street, now occupied by Messrs. Townend & Co., the beadle's staff-head of silver, and that of the assistant beadle in pewter, and the master's walking-stick, etc., etc.

The grant of arms, which is in beautiful preservation, was made by Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux King of Arms, on May 26th, 1533, the 22nd year of

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Henry VIII. The arms are described as azure, a chevron or, between three stryks argent, on the chevron three roses gules, with stalks, leaves, and buds vert. Neither crest, supporters, nor motto are specified, but the Company's streamers are described as powdered with lily-pots or stryks. These appear to have been the most ancient emblems of the Company. They are specified in the warden's accounts for 1452-3, nearly a century before the date of the grant of arms, as follows. "Item viij., banners, with lily-pots and stracks for trumpets." The lily-pot and strack may be seen in the upper part of the floriated border to the grant of arms. The rose also was undoubtedly an ancient emblem, as it appears on the Company's livery stand-cloth, which formerly decorated the stands, or, more properly, seats, erected in Cheapside upon the occasion of pageants, for the accommodation of the livery of the Company. Two portions of this stand-cloth are fortunately preserved, the larger containing the arms of the Company, beautifully worked, and the smaller a portion of the powdering of roses. Edmondson, in his "Heraldry," gives another name to the charge, which is described in the original grant as a stryck or strack. He designates it as "an ancient limbeck," the colloquial form of the term "alembic" or "still." The origin and purpose of this emblem are not clear, and must be reserved for future investigation.

At the end of the accounts for 1455-6 appears an entry of an earlier grant of arms, unfortunately not described, and of which no other particulars exist: "Item, a licence under seal of the yifte [of] armes unto the seid crafte by an herault of armes."

I must draw attention to the interesting series of

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touch-plates belonging to the Company. These contain the marks or touches of the makers of pewter. The earliest mention of them in the Company's records occurs in the ancient Book of Inventories, under the year 1550, on the recto of folio 20, as follows: "Item, a table of pewter, with every man's mark therein." As only one plate is here mentioned, it is probable that the custom of registering marks originated, as I have previously suggested, in 1503-4, under the Act of the 19th Henry VII. Unfortunately this original plate has disappeared. The plates remaining in the Company's possession, are five in number. The earliest contains marks of various dates, without any strict chronological arrangement. The earliest date is 1640, but it is quite possible that some of the undated touches of this plate may be ten or even twenty years earlier. They are of various sizes, suited to the different descriptions of vessels. Those of smallest size were used for spoons and other small articles, and in these the date is abbreviated by the omission of the two first figures. The initials or full name of the maker usually appear together with a device which is, in a few instances, the Company's rose or stryk. Other devices are the sun, a hand, a heart, a caduceus, a dog, a dolphin, pelican, etc., etc. In some cases an old stamp is obliterated by another, adopted by the same maker at a later date. The last of these plates contains the marks registered from 1796 to 1824. These are, of course, very few in number compared with those of earlier years. The marks are not confined to those of London makers, but, in some cases at least, include makers in various parts of the country. It is curious to note that the Company's official mark does not appear either on

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these plates or preserved, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in any other form among their records On the other hand, the marks registered on the touch-plates of the Goldsmiths' Company are not those of the makers, but the official stamps of the Company, which varied from year to year. The methods employed by the two companies in exercising control over their trades account for the different registration adopted by each. The Goldsmiths' Company required every maker to have his wares stamped at their hall with the hall-mark; the Pewterers, on the other hand, obliged the maker to affix his own mark to his goods and register it at their Hall, which enabled the Company, in their periodical trade searches, to bring home to the culprit any delinquencies in manufacture.

The great regard felt by the pewterers for their brethren the goldsmiths in the seventeenth century unfortunately led to some little differences between the two crafts, the pewterers having shown the sincerity of their flattery by imitating the goldsmiths' marks for silver plate. Indeed, the practice of placing the Goldsmiths' hall-mark on pewter vessels became so frequent that, upon the complaint of the Goldsmiths' Company, the Privy Council directed the Court of Aldermen to inquire into the matter; and on March 3rd, 1635, the Court passed an order that the Pewterers should strike but one stamp or mark upon their pewter, "as anciently hath been accustomed, unless the buyer shall desire his own arms or stamp of his sign to be strucken thereupon."

From the inventory of 1540 we find that the apartments in the hall were as follows: the counting-house, the great hall, the buttery, the pantry, the kitchen, the larder-house, the parlour over the hall,

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and the garret over the parlour; and the inn-yard is also mentioned, in which was a well.

In the Great Fire of London, the hall and many of the records of the Company perished; but the buildings were re-erected from the designs of Christopher Wren, and the Company continued to hold their meetings in this hall until the year 1804. In this year, owing to a serious diminution in the Company's income through the general use of glass, china, and earthenware for domestic purposes, and the resistance offered by the master pewterers to the Company's chartered rights of search, assay, hall-marking, etc., the Company let their hall and removed to the adjoining house, 17, Lime Street, and, subsequently, on their rent-roll improving, the accommodation was increased by taking the adjoining house to form what was called the new court-room.

Subsequently, it was found necessary to rebuild these premises, together with No. 18, the material of which Wren's structure had been built having been more or less damaged in the Great Fire. Unfortunately, through defects in the roof of these old premises, many of the Company's possessions were utterly spoilt by dust, damp, and moth, among the chief articles being the state barge-master's coat and rower's jacket, the banners, staff-cloths, and draperies for use in civic and water pageants, and the very richly embroidered pall of Genoa crimson velvet, which was borne in procession on the occasion of the officers and members of the guild attending to distribute the dole of silver maundy money bequeathed by an ancient benefactor of the Company, named Astlin.

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This observance was on a specific Friday, and those attending dined afterwards upon herrings. The custom was discontinued about fifty or sixty years ago, as was also the procession to St. Dionis Church on election day, already alluded to.

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DISCOVERIES MADE DURING THE EXCAVATION FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE SAFE DEPOSIT BANK, CHANCERY LANE.

BY
JOHN SACHS, Esq.

DEEP excavations were necessary in order to secure a firm foundation for the premises of the Safe Deposit Bank, and I had ample opportunity for making and engraving a plan of the site, which yielded various interesting archæological discoveries. After the houses of the Queen Anne period had been removed, the foundations of the old Southampton House were exposed. This building deserves note as having been the residence of the Rt. Hon. Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, to whom Shakespeare dedicated his "Rape of Lucrece." The mansion appears to have stood in a diagonal line between the south-east of the present Southampton Buildings, and the north-west or Holborn end of Chancery Lane. The walls were of red brick and stoutly built. On the south end (marked "ancient wall") was a concrete foundation of great strength which cost some labour to reduce. Inside the red-brick wall lay heaps of bones of goats, boars' tusks and other animal remains, with fragments of mediæval pottery. Adjacent to this spot were brought to light a clean chalk chamber and portion of a cess-pool. Cart-loads of chalk were removed from all parts of the foundation area.

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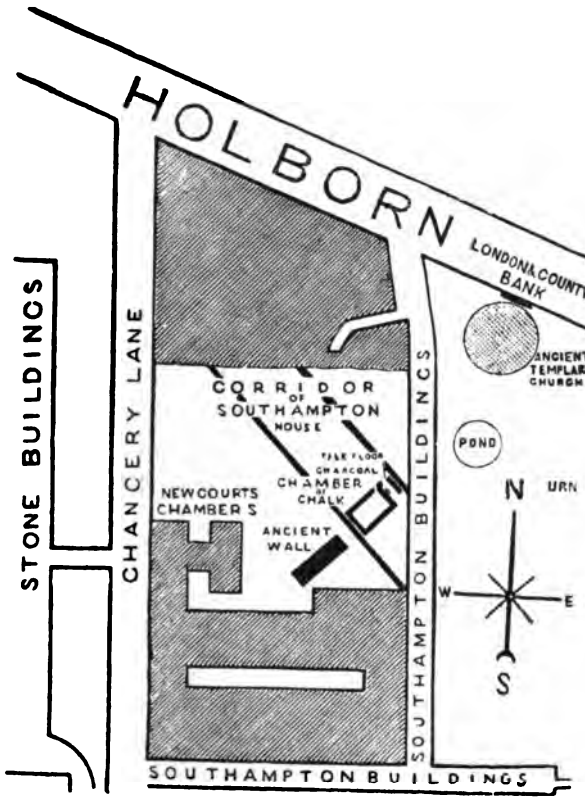
When the *débris* was cleared away the curious fact was ascertained that the builders of Southampton House had utilised white stones of considerable size



for the foundation of their brickwork. One stone I examined appeared to be the key-stone from a semi-circular arch. These stones may have been abstracted from Roman edifices, as their organic formation was similar to those taken from a Roman bastion and preserved in the Guildhall Museum.

When the excavations were made for the London and County Bank, the circular foundations of the Old

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Knight Templars' Church were revealed and sketched by our former secretary, G. A. Birch, A.R.I.B.A. On reference to Ralph Aggas's Map, this church is delineated, which shows that the edifice still existed early in Elizabeth's reign, when this map was made; it had probably been retained for chapter and other offices in connection with the Temple Church, which was dedicated in A.D. 1185.

Further excavations have been recently made for the erection and extension of the Birkbeck Bank. After the removal of the houses in Southampton Buildings, the ground appeared to have been garden ground, as shown by Aggas. One could imagine oneself treading on the very ground on which the Earl of Southampton and his friend William Shakespeare walked together. In this ground the workmen came upon an excavation which had been filled with chalk, a material which was much used in this district for absorbing damp. This cavity had been most likely a pond or stew for keeping a supply of fish for the Knight Templars. Further east a cinerary urn, containing bones, was found. As soon as I saw it I reported the find to the Secretary of this Society, and also to Mr. Ravenscroft, junior, of the Birkbeck, who saved the fragments (for the workmen had broken it) and had them put together, and is now preserved in their Council Room. A more perfect urn, of exactly the same pattern and size is in the Guildhall Museum. On reference to the portion of Aggas's Map in the accompanying illustration, the building in the shape of the letter L is probably intended to indicate Southampton House, and what is interesting at the present time, and will shortly disappear, is the house at the corner of Leather Lane (spelt Liver Lane).

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OLD HOUSE AT THE HOLBORN WEST CORNER OF LEATHER LANE,

Probably the House indicated in Aggas's Map. The right hand portion was used as the "Horse and Groom" Tavern.

From a drawing by John Sachs, made when the buildings were being pulled down, 26th September, 1898.

PARISH BOUNDARY MARK OF ST. ANDREW, HOLBORN.

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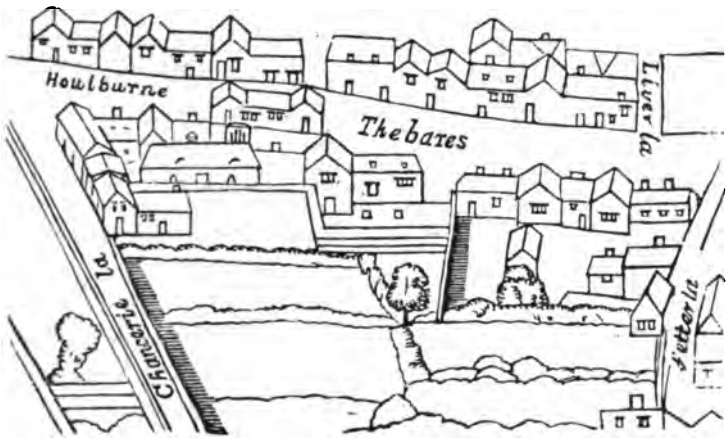

Part of the building has been utilized for the "Horse and Groom" beer-house. This house extended to Holborn, and had a superstructure of later date, the old part of the building dating from about the period of Henry VII. The illustration facing this page was taken in November, 1898.

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ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, WOOD STREET.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., Treas. S.A.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, in March. 1897.

THERE were originally seven churches in the City dedicated to St. Michael; of these four remain, namely, St. Michael, Bassishaw, St. Michael, Cornhill, St. Michael, Paternoster Royal, and the building in which we now stand. This church, although the tower, as we shall see, is in great part mediæval, and though it is doubtless built on old foundations, may be reckoned among Sir Christopher Wren's designs, and it has a melancholy interest for us just now, as under the Union of Benefices Act it is to be pulled down almost immediately. I should note, by the way, that it will make the sixteenth City church designed by Wren which will have been destroyed. Thus we see disappearing, one might say before our eyes, the great work of our greatest Protestant architect, who in the rebuilding of these churches had a unique opportunity which he turned to marvellous account. Besides St. Paul's Cathedral, only thirty-four of his City churches now remain, and several of these are threatened. From the artistic point of view the destruction of any one of them would be deplorable. They all show his original genius, they supplement each other and form parts of one harmonious whole. In a sense his simpler designs are as interesting as his more elaborate ones, because they prove what he could do when

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hindered by want of money and by cramped and inconvenient sites.

The church of St. Michael stands, as you know, on the west side of Wood Street, at or near the south side of Gresham Street, formerly in this part called Maiden Lane, and along the north of Huggin Lane. It occupies the site of a mediæval church, repaired in 1392, and therefore presumably old at that date. Stow, in his quaint phraseology, calls it "a proper thing." After describing, among others, a monument there to the father of his friend William Lambarde, whose descendants still flourish in the neighbourhood of Sevenoaks, he tells us that the embalmed head of James IV. of Scotland, slain at Flodden, after being with the body for years at Sheen monastery, was "hewn off" by "workmen for their foolish pleasure," and eventually buried at this church. We cannot now test the truth of this oft-repeated anecdote which our good old chronicler relates with so much detail. It is a curious coincidence that after the Dissolution the monastery at Sheen came into the hands of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and that a head, by some supposed to be his, has been shown for years at Holy Trinity, Minories.

The mediæval church of St. Michael, except the lower part of the tower, was almost consumed in the Great Fire. The work of reconstruction was entrusted to Wren, who completed it in 1673, at a cost of £2,554 12*s.* 11*d.*, this being one of his cheapest City churches, and also one of the simplest. Externally the east end was and is the most conspicuous part of the church, for Huggin Lane on the south is very narrow, and since the Great Fire the north and west have always been masked by buildings. This east

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front is faced with Portland stone, and decorated with four Ionic pilasters carrying a cornice and pediment; between them are three round-headed windows. The clock which juts out into the street is a modern addition, placed there since Billings made his drawing for Godwin and Britton's "Churches of London." The interior of this small church is very plain, for it is more or less an unbroken parallelogram; not absolutely so, as the two side walls widen out a little towards the east end, which is not quite square with them, the tower also, occupying the south-west corner, projects slightly at the west end. The length is about 63 feet and breadth 42; the ceiling, flat, and coved to the north and south walls only, is framed by a cornice with a pretty foliated ornament in plaster work.

St. Michael's was "restored" in a most tasteless manner some years ago, by men who entirely ignored the fact that the beautiful fittings of Wren's churches formed an integral part of his design; and his keenest admirers can hardly say that the interior is now beautiful. The walls are still panelled to dado height, and the handsome oak altar-piece remains, flanked by pictures of Moses and Aaron, and surmounted by a good carving of the royal arms. The pulpit, also, is of carved oak, and a fair example of work coeval with Wren, but it has lost its sounding board, and its old stair balustrade has been replaced by a modern one. Originally against the north wall of the church, it has been removed to the south-east corner. The high pews disappeared in 1888, being replaced by yellow deal benches and chancel stalls with ends of pseudo-Gothic design; gas-standards brazen to match were also provided. The organ, which I am told is a fine

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instrument, was brought down from the western gallery, and placed on the floor at the north-west corner; that same gallery being mutilated, as you see, in order to make room for it. The organ-case has gone, and the pipes have been stencilled over with a diaper pattern utterly inappropriate. The marble font, more or less of the usual seventeenth century style, has, with its carved wooden cover surmounted by a pineapple ornament, been daubed over with paint, and is now in the south-west corner. Against the north wall there is a good marble monument, saved from the older church, to "William Harvie, citizen and grocer of London and deputy to the alderman of this ward of Cripplegate within, buried 20th March 1597, aged 68 years." He had three wives, who rejoiced in the names of Maudlin, Margaret, and Joan. His eldest son, Robert Harvey, some time comptroller of the customs, who resided in Old Jewry, was buried here November 9th, 1608, and is duly noticed on the tablet. Immediately to the east, on the same wall, is another monument, to the memory of William Harvey, son of Robert, who "fined for Alderman" and died in 1677, having as we learn from other sources, given £100 towards the rebuilding of the church, about which sum there was a dispute with the neighbouring parish of St. Mary Staining. Hugh Harvey, of the fourth generation, is also buried here, as are other members of the family. The rest of the monuments have no special interest. On the floor are ledger stones now covered up by wood pavement; they are all comparatively modern, a plan of them is kept in the vestry. There was formerly a good sword-rest, still here in 1887; but the parish authorities, wanting money to carry out their strange

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ideas of church decoration, sold it to the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, in whose possession it remains.

I have reserved till last what I have to say about the most interesting part of the existing fabric. The tower, as it now stands, is externally a square structure with a plain stone parapet. It is surmounted by a commonplace octagon spire, now covered with copper but formerly with lead, and rising to a height of 130 feet, which is not Wren's work, though the fact is generally forgotten. Hughson, writing in 1806, says that it had been added during a "late repair," and in Maitland's "History of London" (edition 1756) there is an illustration, in which the tower appears with a lantern instead of the spire, a far more effective design. A coloured drawing, done early in this century, shows a Gothic tower-window on the south side; this is now partly blocked, and the lower part, converted into what looks like an ordinary modern opening, serves to light the vestry—a panelled room occupying the ground floor of the tower. On mounting, by modern steps, into the gallery above the vestry, one finds on the north side of the tower, a pointed arch of considerable span, now obscured by paint and plaster. It no doubt springs from the ground, but the lower portion is screened off. There is a little turret staircase at the north-west angle of the tower, entered from the nave through a pretty doorway with fifteenth century mouldings, which shows us to what height the ancient masonry extends. Those who care to mount this staircase will find that it ends abruptly within three or four feet of the belfry floor level; and the building is carried up in brick, evidently Wren's addition after the fire. In his brick superstructure he has placed

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pointed windows—rough imitations, I suppose, of those which existed before. The mediæval or lower part of the staircase was lighted by three little quartrefoil windows opening into the church; they are now blocked. When the tower is being pulled down we shall probably come upon traces of a pointed arch on its eastern face; this, if it exists, is now concealed by modern work. Enough has been said to prove what an interesting example of architecture we Londoners are about to lose, with no corresponding advantage that any of us will be aware of.

It has been thought well to print Mr. Norman's remarks on the Church as they were delivered, and to supplement them by the following note on subsequent discoveries which he has been good enough to furnish.

During the destruction of the Church of St. Michael, which took place within a few months of the visit of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, further Gothic remains were exposed to sight. Of these the most beautiful and perfect was the engaged arch on the west side of the tower, which forms the most conspicuous object in the view, from a photograph kindly supplied by our President, Dr. Edwin Freshfield. This, Mr. Norman hopes to use, as one of the illustrations of an extended paper on the ancient church and its history, which he is about to read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries. He will therefore now merely say that he believes the building, in later mediæval times at least, to have consisted of a nave and south aisle, with tower standing on arches at the west end of the latter. This tower, as shown by the mouldings and from documentary evidence, was built in the early part of the fifteenth

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century. In the process of demolition it turned out that the body of the Church, as rebuilt by Wren, was partly of brick on the old foundations, in part reconstructed from the old material, while portions of the ancient wall had been worked in. During the work of destruction some encaustic tiles were discovered, also many fragments of mediæval glass, mostly of the fourteenth century, and an oblong piece of stone with three quatrefoil openings; for what purposes it was used is doubtful. These various relics are now in the Guildhall Museum. The mummified head of King James IV of Scotland did not appear.

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NOTES ON THE RECORDS AND HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF ST. MICHAEL, WOOD STREET.

BY

THE REV. JAMES CHRISTIE.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, in March, 1897.

UNDER the provisions of the Union of Benefices Act, the united parishes of S. Michael, Wood Street and S. Mary Staining have been joined to S. Albans, Wood Street, and the Church of S. Michael's is about to be pulled down. This Parish Church is mentioned in a will enrolled in the Husting Court in 1349, and in 1381 a rector of the parish—Ive, leaves a messuage for the church and parish. Stow tells us the patronage of this church formerly belonged to the Abbey of S. Albans, and on the dissolution of the monasteries passed into the hands of the King, Henry VIII, by whom it was granted to one William Burwell. In 1588 it became the property of the parish. From that time till the present union of parishes it was carefully guarded by the parishioners, and the extant minute books give an account of the election of successive rectors down to the present time. The value of the living before the Great Fire (1666) was a little over £60 a year, and the parishioners often had to supplement their Rector's income by subscriptions and grants from the parish church funds. After the Great Fire, when the parishes

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of S. Michael, Wood Street, and S. Mary Staining were united, the tithe of the two amounted to £84, and the value to be assessed for as the income from the two parishes was fixed at £100—£16 more than the value of the tithes. The only trace of what the church was like before the Fire is to be seen in an arch still remaining and in the lower part of the old tower. In 1627 an additional door was opened in Wood Street, through the head of the north aisle, being the chancel end, the only door previously being in the middle of the south aisle, opening into Huggin Lane. There was also an image of S. Michael, for altering which the accounts tell us the Churchwardens in 1643 paid 2*s.* 11*d.* What the alteration was is not mentioned.

Stow gives a list of eight monuments in the church in 1597, the one of most interest perhaps being that of John Lambarde, Draper, Alderman and Sheriff of London 1554, and "father to my loving friend William Lambarde, Esq., well known by sundry learned works he hath published." William Lambarde was a keen student of Anglo-Saxon, like Archbishop Parker and John Fox, "the Martyrologist," and in the next generation, Spelman and Twisden. He was also a friend of Camden, and the first writer of what are now known as County Histories—the History of Kent, the county in which he resided.

It may be worth while to repeat the curious narrative, given by Stow, as to the burial in this church of the head of James IV, King of Scotland, who fell on Flodden Field, in 1513. At this time Ferdinand, King of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and Henry VIII were, at the instigation of the Pope, engaged in war with the King of France, whose armies had

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invaded Italy. The King of Scotland, at the instigation of his old ally, the King of France, took this opportunity to attempt to pay off old scores against England, and crossed the Border in 1513. A papal interdict had been issued forbidding James to enter on war against England at this time, but James anticipated its arrival. Being under an interdict, his body was disqualified for Christian burial. Henry, his brother-in-law, took advantage of this to refuse burial, and although the Pope removed the ban and expressed a wish that the body should be buried in St. Paul's, no heed was paid to his desire. King James's sword, dagger, and ring, were placed in the Heralds' College, London.

The narrative runs thus:

"There is also, but without any outward monument, the head of James the fourth King of Scots of that name slayen at Flodden field and buried here by this occasion. After the battle the body of the said King being found was closed in lead and conveyed from thence to London and so to the Monastery of Sheen in Surrey where it remained for a time but in what order I am not certain, but since the dissolution of that house in the reign of Edward VI, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk being lodged and keeping house there I have been shewed the same body so lapped in lead close to the head and body thrown into the waste-room amongst the old timber lead and other rubble. Since the which time workemen there for their foolish pleasure hewed off his head and Lancelot Young, Master Glazier to Her Majesty feeling a sweet savour to come from thence and seeing the same dryed from all moisture and yet the form remaining with the hayre of the head and beard redd brought it to London to his house in Wood Streete where for a time he kept it for the sweetness, but in the end caused the sexton of that Church to bury it amongst other bones out of their charnell."

If this story be true, there must have been kinder friends than his brother-in-law, who had the body carefully embalmed. Tytler accepts the story as true. Dr. Hill Burton characterizes it as "odd," but the

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mystery that surrounds the disposal of the King's body has never been dispelled.

The old building of S. Michael's was repaired and the bells re-hung about a year before the Great Fire, but of the cost there is no record, as the account books are blank from 1664 to 1670.

For rebuilding the church after the Fire, both Church and parish lands were mortgaged for £500, and £100 were given by a William Harvey, who does not appear to have resided in the parish, but whose family were buried in the church. Stow and Strype both record that there were monuments in the church (they still exist) to one Harvey, citizen and Draper, Deputy of the Ward, 1597 (the parish books tell us that it was through this man's agency that the advowson came to be parish property), to another Robert Harvey, 1608, to William Harvey, in 1677. This last was most probably the donor of the £100. He is spoken of later on in the account books as Alderman, and seems to have resided in the parish of St. Laurence Jewry. In 1672 the cost of re-building and furnishing was ordered to be divided between the parishes, in the proportion of two-thirds to S. Michael's and one-third to S. Mary Staining. The latter claimed a share in this donation of £100, but the Registrar decided, on the evidence of Harvey's brother, that the donor (now deceased) intended his gift for S. Michael's and St. Michael's only. Probably the other Harvey monument, of 1679, belonged to this brother. The account books tell of many visits paid to Dr. Wren as to the building of the new church, and this same year he was invited to a dinner (cost 15 guineas) the expenses of which were defrayed by sixteen parishioners who sat down with him. In 1673 he

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and the churchwardens paid a visit to a church in Lumber Street for the purpose of seeing the arrangements there. At this time the pewing of the new church was in hand. In 1673 is the first inventory after the Fire, which contains :

2 guilt silver Chalices with their covers wt 62 ozs. 16 dwts.
and one Silver Chalice with cover wt 12 ozs. 1 dwt.

In 1674 the pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk were removed from their first position to the north "ile." In 1677 a handsome font is ordered to be erected, the cost of the stone work was £8 and of the top £1 5*s.* (this font is still in the church). There was a dispute as to the church plate of S. Mary Staining from 1676–9, when a committee was appointed to arrange matters. The cost of the church is said to have been nearly £2,500, and in 1679 fifteen guineas are ordered "to be paid to Sir Christopher Wren for building the Church." In 1694 the church was lighted by two branches of sixteen lights each, and in 1708 there were four bells in the tower.

And now for PARISH HISTORY as recorded in the minute books. These begin in 1644, and the Rev. Arthur Jackson was Rector. He had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, had been for some time lecturer in the parish, and was appointed Rector in 1625. On the nomination of the Clothworkers' Company, of which his father and his uncles had been Court members, he was appointed Minister also of Lamb's Chapel. He belonged to the Puritan school, and refused to read the famous "Declaration on Sports." Bishop Laud remonstrated witn him, but on being pressed to institute proceedings refused, saying : "Mr. Jackson is a quiet and peaceable man ; I will not have him meddled with." The

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scanty income of the Rectory has been mentioned before. On 31st July, 1645, £6 a year was voted by the Vestry to assist Mr. Jackson to provide an assistant. Next year the Rector represented to the Vestry "that his present allowances were 'out of the rent of a house £7 the tythe and Lecture Money,' and that these amounted to so little that he had been for long obliged to draw on his own resources. He had had larger proffers from other places. If they would raise his income to £120 he would rather accept that and stay among them than go where he would get more." The parish agreed "to make additions to the lecture money and pay something out of the church revenues belonging to the parish; but this was to continue no longer than the State shall settle other competent maintenance or the said Mr. Jackson shall continue our Minister." Twenty-five approved of this proposal and three dissented. Mr. Jackson's son, in a memoir prefixed to his father's posthumous works, says "he spent £2,000 out of his own personal property while Rector here," and adds that in two years' time the parish augmentation fell so far short that his friends in the parish who most desired his remaining there persuaded him to accept of any other offer. With others of the Presbyterian party, Mr. Jackson protested against bringing King Charles to his trial. Whether his favour for the King rendered him unacceptable to a portion of his flock or the state of his health rendered him unfit to discharge the duties of his office, his signature appears at the audit of accounts for the last time on 12th April, 1648, and at a Vestry meeting, 29th May, 1649. Four months after (September, 1649) the *major part* of the Vestry agreed "That Mr. William Taylor, the Minister, and

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his congregation shall have the use of the parish church for their public worship twice every Lord's Day and to continue so long as the parish shall be willing and no longer." In 1653 Mr. Taylor is spoken of as the "Minister." As the names of both Jackson and Taylor are appended to the address to the "Christian Reader" prefixed to the later English editions of the "Westminster Confession of Faith," it is probable that this was a friendly arrangement, owing to the state of Mr. Jackson's health, between him, the parish, and Mr. Taylor.

On the arrival of Charles II in Scotland, in 1651, a number of the Presbyterian Clergy in London were prepared to welcome and support him. They were arrested (Jackson among them) and placed in the Tower. On June 12th, 1651, an order was made on his own petition, praying that in regard of his great infirmities the Council will not send him to prison, but accept bail for his appearance—that bail be taken of him in bond of £1,000 and two sureties of £500 each, on the usual terms. At the trial of Christopher Love, perhaps the most outspoken of the Royalist Ministers, June 20th, 1651, Jackson refused to acknowledge the Court as a lawful one, or to give evidence, and was fined £500, and committed either to the Tower or the Fleet, from which, after seventeen weeks' confinement, he was, on the intercession of his friends, released. But to return to the Parish Minutes. At a Parish Meeting on April 25th, 1655, it is found that £87 11*s.* 1*d.* is due to Mr. Jackson. It is resolved to pay this "on condition that Mr. Jackson empower the Churchwardens to look after the tythes to recover and retain the same to the proper use of this parish they keeping Mr. Jackson free of all tenths due to the

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State—that he shall and do resign the said Rectory when and as he shall be thereunto required." On May 9th, the Churchwardens are empowered "to supply the Church every Lord's Day until the choice of a minister be made and allow 10*s*. a sermon if required." Six candidates enter the list, and at the end of six weeks Mr. Parsons is elected, and allowed "£120 per annum payable quarterly (£60 from tythes and £60 from subscriptions of the parishioners and out of the parish revenues)." On 26th September, Mr. Jackson formally resigned, and the same day "the Churchwardens are empowered to present Mr. Parsons to the Committee appointed for examining, approving and allowing of Ministers."

The whole proceedings appear to be of a friendly nature and are in strong contrast with what took place in many parishes during these troublous times. At the time of the Restoration, Mr. Jackson was minister of S. Faith's, and in the name of the London Clergy presented Charles II with a Bible on his passing through S. Paul's Churchyard on his first entry into London. At S. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, he retired, and thenceforth lived with a relative at Edmonton till his death in 1666, which, however, took place in Milk Street, in the house of Thomas Major, one of his friends, whither he had come for the purpose of being near medical aid which he required for the disease under which he laboured. Richard Smith, in his obituary, records, "7th August 1666, Old Mr. Jackson, sometime minister of S. Michaels Wood Street there buried in the ruines." Smith, who had been secondary of the Poultry Compter, was at this time residing in Moorfields. He had evidently written up the obituary after the Great Fire in the first days of September,

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adding "in the ruines" to describe the state of the Church and Churchyard when he wrote.

Mr. Thomas Parsons now elected Minister of S. Michael's had, in 1650, been nominated by Cromwell fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. He proved an active member of what was called the Classis—(the Presbytery of London was divided into four ? Classes) and was held in great esteem among them. He was Clerk and assessor in their meetings of 1659 and 1660.

In the March after his election the following minute occurs, illustrative of the curious attempts in these unsettled days to provide for Church Discipline.

"Agreed upon at a full vestry this day met (our Mr. Parsons being present) That in order to participasion of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by such as shall be Communicants thereof in this parish that this method shall be observed—

"Forasmuch as it is unanimously agreed to that notoriously ignorant and Scandalous persons are no fit subjects, for the participasion of that ordinance, so continuing ;

"1st. That therefore (in order to satisfaction concerning the fit Knowledge of persons to be communicants) our said Minister confer with such as mean to be communicants for his better information therein ;

"2nd. That as to persons in any way notoriously Scandalous the minister shall have to his assistance from tyme to tyme the two Churchwardens yearly elected as also four other persons to be joined with them for the admittance or refusal of such persons as in point of conversation shall be by them judged fitt or unfitt and these (four persons named in the minute) are the persons unanimously pitched upon to join with our said minister and Ch. W^ns. for the purposes aforesaid."

Six months after another curious entry for a Vestry occurs :

"MEMO : that at this Vestry there were delivered to Mr. Parsons the Vulgar translation of the Bible by S. Jerome and the Common Prayer Book to be redelivered to this p^sh. on demand."

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Difficulties arose from time to time about the amount raised from tithes, but Mr. Parsons seems to have been well approved, for in 1659 a Committee was appointed to have a house built for the Minister on certain ground specified, probably on part of the property from which the sum of £7 was due to the Minister as house rent. On 24th August, 1660, the money due to Mr. Parsons up to Midsummer was ordered to be paid and the King's Arms to be set up in Church. The cost was £6. The £60 from the parish seems to have been regularly paid. Mr. Parsons retired at S. Bartholomew's Day 1662, and in the beginning of next year a Committee was appointed to collect the tithes due to Mr. Parsons up to Michaelmas last, and £25 10*s.* to be paid in the meantime. The same day Mr. Horton was elected Rector at £120 per annum. In order to avoid dispute as to the amount collected from tithe, the Vestry appointed the Churchwardens to arrange for the collection of tithe and pay the amount over to the Rector. Horton resigned towards the end of 1664, and Mr. Martyn was elected his successor on 19th January following, and on the 2nd February was chosen Lecturer for one year at £40 and £6 for a reader. Mr. Martyn seems to have been popular, for in 1673 a Committee was appointed "to collect £17 due to him and something over for his interest in the rebuilding of the Church and his civility to the Parishioners." In 1681 and 1682 the well-known Dr. George Hickes, at that time Vicar of All Hallows Barking, was elected Lecturer of S. Michael's.

Among later Rectors was Dr. Thomas Birch, the son of a Quaker resident in Clerkenwell, elected 24th February, 1744. Two years later he was

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appointed Rector of S. Margaret Pattens. He was Secretary to the Royal Society 1752–6, and in the latter year fell in a fit of apoplexy from his horse on Hampstead Heath and was killed. His contributions to historical research were numerous, and at his death he left his papers to the British Museum, and a bequest of £500 to assist in paying two additional attendants. As S. Mary Staining was united to S. Michael's, it may be mentioned in passing that Mr. Austin of S. Mary Staining was one of the City Clergy who stayed at his post in the Plague of 1665 and died there, as well as Mr. Stone, Rector of S. Alphage. Mr. Austin was succeeded by a Dr. Isaac Tonge, who, as his parish was taken away from him after the Great Fire, devoted himself to issuing attacks on the Jesuits. He was the first to whom Titus Oates disclosed the pretended plots he had to reveal. S. Michael's Vestry appointed a Committee to ask Dr. Tonge to resign (1680) S. Mary Staining, but before the Committee met he died in December, fortunate in being spared the knowledge of the terrible evils which ensued on the disclosure of Oates' plots.

The minute books of S. Michael's, in 5 vols., are continuous from 1644 to 1843, barring three years after the Great Fire. The account books from 1619 to the end of 1718, barring 1664 to 1670, are in 1 vol. containing Church and Parish Accounts. Church disbursements from 1737 to 1871, 1 vol. Parish disbursements from 1745 to 1866 in 2 vols. Assessments for poor, 1775 to 1851, in 1 vol. A rough copy of minutes, 1692 to 1716, in 1 paper covered volume. A list of briefs read in church, 1757 to 1816. Some of the earlier pages have been cut out. In connection with briefs it may be noted that this parish collected

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£7 8*s*. 4*d*. on a brief for the poor oppressed Protestants in Lesuah, Poland, and in Bohemia. This was part of the collection about the application of which there has been so much dispute.

Extracts and references have been already given from these minute books. The Easter elections of churchwardens, sydesmen and collectors are very regularly entered, as well as the December elections of civic and parish officers. In addition to Common Councilmen, Wardmote Inquest, Constable and Scavenger, there occurs, from time to time, the election of four bearers—persons, I presume, elected for the purpose of bearing to the churchyard the bodies of those who died in the parish. In the account books may be found the usual grotesque descriptions given by collectors and churchwardens of the objects of casual relief—illustrations of the methods in use for preventing wanderers from obtaining a settlement in the parish—gifts of money to wanderers under way to their proper parish—or to distressed sailors on the way to their native district. Under the old system of equalizing the incidence of poor relief, S. Michael's must have been considered a fairly well-to-do parish, as they paid to the assistance of S. Giles, Cripplegate, annual sums varying from £6 to £2 10*s*.

The first entries in the minute book refer to the monies in the poor box, which had been tampered with. It was ordered that the churchwardens apply such monies strictly to the use of the regular poor or to cases requiring occasional relief. The first election of a Vestry Clerk appears unfortunate. "Richard Satherwaite of y^s^ psh. Scivener is appointed as Clerk of this Vestry at 30*s*. per annum so as he duly give his attendance therein being summoned thereunto as

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other parishioners are." From payments in the account books, Richard Satherwaite had acted as "Shorthand Clerk" to the Vestry for some years previously. A month after the appointment it is again ordered, "That Richard Satherwaite shall be dismissed from being any longer the writing Clerk of this parish because he hath oftentimes neglected the same and upon admonition gave very ill language to the Chw^ns^ and many other of the Parishioners." Richard Satherwaite continues to reside in the parish till 1662, when his name appears for the last time on the assessment roll.

During the struggle of 1645, the various fast and thanksgiving days were duly kept in the parish, which seems to have contributed freely and voluntarily to the relief of "the maimed and wounded soldiers," "their widows," the "distressed Irish," as well as to the assistance of districts which had been injured by the contending armies—round Bristol and Manchester. (A full list is given in the minute book.)

From June to December there are about a dozen entries of such collections. Sometimes the sermons were preached at S. Albans', sometimes at S. Michael's. When the collection was for public purposes it was transmitted entire; when for the poor it was divided between the parishes.

For the relief of Taunton, held by Colonel Massey for the Parliament, the sum of £20 3*s.* 10*d.* was collected in June, the largest subscription being £3 from one Emma Drake, a stranger. One parishioner (who had at Easter fined for Constable) subscribes £2, seven others £1. Among the last is one Dr. Bastwicke, probably the same who with Prynne and Leighton were so cruelly used by the

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Star Chamber. In addition, some volunteered "Musquetts," one sent "a Musquett and a bandoleere." The "Musquetts" and money were handed over to Alderman Bunce, less 4*d.* for the porterage of the "Musquetts." On December 10th there was a collection of old clothes for the army. These were sent to Christ's Church. Lists are given in the minute book.

The first assessment roll (Easter, 1645) amounts to £35 15*s.* The Wood Street Compter stands highest in the roll for £1 6*s.*, four others are assessed at 17*s.* each. The assessment roll is regularly entered from year to year, and would prove a guide to anyone anxious to trace residents in the parish.

In December, 1648, just before the King's trial, Fairfax came up to London demanding money and threatening to quarter his soldiers in the City. At the request of the citizens, however, he relented, and promised if the City would provide beds and appurtenances to quarter his soldiers in empty houses. S. Michael's portion was 24 beds, etc., a full list of which, with the names of the donors, are duly entered in the minute book. In 1654 a select Vestry of 21 was appointed on trial for two years to discharge all the functions of the parish Vestry, saving only the election and maintenance of a minister.

Along with these old books of record, there is also a lease of three dwelling-houses, which stood at the west end and north-west corner of the old church, granted—

(1.) At Christmas, 8th Henry IV (1407), by Agnes Pychard to John Heeds. It bears an original seal, somewhat broken.

(2.) A release of the same property to John Brown by the same, dated some days after

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the feast of S. Benet, Abbot, 10th Henry V, 1422.

(3.) A translation of the above No. 2.

(4.) Transfer of the parish advowson to William Harvey, 1581.

(5.) Transfer of advowson from one set of feoffees to another (1612), with a translation.

(6.) Another of 1648.

(7.) The roll of assessment for the original tythes of the combined parishes, previous to the order for £100.

These various books and papers belonging to S. Michael's, Wood Street parish, have been placed for safe keeping in the Library at Guildhall, but the older ones will require delicate handling, as the paper in some parts shows signs of decay. It might be worth while for the custodians of old Vestry and account books to join in making arrangements for such books to be kept and preserved for reference in connection with the Library. Many interesting items of parish history would then be more likely to come to the knowledge of the public than when they are kept separately and under different custodians.

The wish expressed by the writer of this paper has been to a large extent accomplished, it having been the aim of the Committee of the Guildhall Library and their Librarian to procure for deposit in the Library the ancient records of the City parishes and wards. In this they have been materially assisted by the valuable co-operation of Mr. Deputy White, a member of the Committee, and also a member of this Society. It may be interesting to add a list of the parishes and wards whose older books of record, either wholly or in part, have up to the present (March,

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1900) been received for preservation in the Guildhall Library.

PARISHES.

St. Anne and St. Agnes; St. Botolph, Billingsgate; St. Bride, Fleet Street; St. John the Baptist upon Walbrook; St. John Zachary; St. Mary Abchurch; St. Mary Colechurch; St. Michael, Wood Street; St. Mildred, Poultry; St. Peter, Cornhill; St. Stephen, Walbrook; and St. Swithin, London Stone.

WARDS.

Billingsgate, Cheap, Cornhill, Farringdon Within, Langbourn, Vintry, and Walbrook.

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THE ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENT ROUND LONDON AND GLIMPSES OF ANGLO-SAXON LIFE IN AND NEAR IT.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at the London Institution, on 6th March, 1900.

BY

T. W. SHORE, Esq., F.G.S.,

Honorary Secretary.

Hon. Organising Secretary of the Hampshire Archæological Society.

It is not my intention in this paper to touch on the origin of London. We have evidence that a city existed on this site in Roman time, and that this neighbourhood had its inhabitants at a much more remote period, the period of the Bronze Age, and also that of the earlier Neolithic or New Stone Age.

I purpose to draw your attention to the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlement and occupation of the country round London, that is the arrival here of those whom we may call our own forefathers, those tribes and races of the great Teutonic stock from whom we English people are descended.

The city they found here was one of considerable importance and size. The Roman remains which have been found in London attest this. It was a city protected by defensive walls, containing temples, elegant houses, and many of the characteristic structures of a Roman city, having good streets and well-made roads connecting it with distant parts of Britain.

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Let me enumerate these roads :—

From the south-east came the road from Dover and Canterbury, along the line more or less of the Old Kent Road.

From the south came the road from Pevensey through Sussex and Surrey, passing through or near Croydon, and through Streatham.

From the south-west came the road from Regnum, where Chichester now is, passing through Dorking.

From the west came the road from the City of Silchester, crossing the Thames at or near Staines, and reaching London across Hounslow Heath, by Hyde Park Corner.

From the north-west came the Watling Street, connecting Roman London with the City of Uriconium, near Shrewsbury, via Dunstable and Stony Stratford.

From the north came the Ermin Street, the great north road connecting the City with Stamford, Lincoln, and York.

From the north-east came the road from Colchester, and which also connected London with other parts of the Eastern counties.

These main Roman roads to and from London certainly existed at the time of the coming of the Saxons. The lines of some of these old roads are the lines of existing highways. You can walk along them to-day ; as, for example, along the Old North road, that grand old highway well seen in Cambridgeshire, and feel that you are traversing the same road the Romans followed in the journeys to and from London. These roads our forefathers found here

The Romans made them and our Anglo-Saxon forefathers made use of them. In addition to these great highways there must have been others connected with

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them, branch roads or tracks, used at least in summer, or when the ground was sufficiently hard.

London, even in Saxon time, was relatively a great commercial port. By looking at the map we can see how imports arrived, and how exports were sent out. The River Thames then, as now, was the channel for all, or nearly all external communication with London. For internal communication westward the Thames was also a channel of traffic, how far we cannot say with certainty, but during the later Anglo-Saxon period as far as Oxford, and perhaps as far as the present limit of its navigation at Lechlade.

For nearly all its other internal communications in Anglo-Saxon time, London depended on the great highways the Romans had made. Well, as these roads were made, with all the skill of the Roman engineers, they could not last for ever. Our Saxon forefathers no doubt in places wore them through to the undisturbed strata beneath, and here and there roughly repaired them, and this wearing out and rough repair went on through the succeeding centuries, down to the time when the macadamised roads rivalled in construction those of the Roman period.

There are several points in reference to the highways leading to London in Anglo-Saxon time I desire to draw your attention.

1. The lines of these roads still exist in some of our modern highways, and are consequently among our most ancient antiquities.

2. The commercial growth of London from the time of the Romans, through the Anglo-Saxon period and down to the period of the improved road-making in the eighteenth century—and the era of canal-making was largely due, as far as internal

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communication was concerned, to the use of these old Roman roads.

3. You may see on close examination of large scale maps at the present time some evidence of the great traffic from the provinces to London along these ancient highways.

This evidence arises from the following considerations: The Romans, as is well known, made their roads in straight lines as far as was practicable, in order to make them as short as possible. By examining a large scale map you will see that those existing highways which follow for the most part the old Roman lines, diverge a little here and there from the original straight lines. By examining these localities, it will also be seen that there is in all cases a reason for this, such as the softer nature of the strata or other geological conditions, which caused the roads at those places to wear out quicker, and that when they did wear out, those who had to repair them found it easier to make detours on harder ground rather than to expend greater labour in overcoming these natural conditions, and so maintaining the original straight line of the Roman highways.

Many of these deflections in the lines of the Roman roads certainly date from the Saxon period, and we may consequently see in some at least of these deviations of these highways leading to London, an evidence of the traffic during the centuries which followed the departure of the Romans from our Island, that is an evidence of the early internal trade and traffic to and from London.

Another consideration concerning these Saxon alterations in the Roman roads leading to London is that in some cases these main roads were diverted here

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and there so as to pass through places of increasing importance in Saxon time, and so afford a connection between them and London.

In addition to these Roman roads leading to London in Saxon time there were other tracks known as here-paths, some of them probably even older than the Roman period. Two such roads from west to east exist in Hampshire. One of these, mentioned by the name "lunden hærpath," north of Winchester, occurs in a Saxon charter A.D. 909.* This old way still exists as a green road, and an inn on it is still known as Lunway's Inn.

The name of the county of Middlesex has an ancient significance differing from similar names which have come down to us from the Anglo-Saxon period. The name Essex is a modern form of the Est Seaxe or East Saxons, and Sussex similarly of the Suth Seaxe or South Saxons. The name of the Kingdom of Wessex is in like manner derived from West Seaxe or the West Saxons. There was a kingdom of the West Saxons, another of the South Saxons, and another of the East Saxons. There never was a Kingdom of the Middle Saxons, as people distinct from the other Saxon States. There was only a province of the Middel Seaxe, a name used to denote those Anglo-Saxon people who lived in the country between that of the East Saxons and that of the West Saxons. Here I may remark that the name Saxons was not one the original settlers generally used, but one given them by other people.

So far from London having grown into importance during the Anglo-Saxon period as the chief town of Middlesex, that county appears to have been

* Cartularium Saxonicum II, 304.

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delimitated mainly as an appendage to London. "London and the land which owed obedience thereto" is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle of the year 912. That land must have been Middlesex, or at least a considerable part of it.

Again, a little later on, in the time of King Æthelstan, we find among his laws relating to London, one concerning the obligation for pursuing on horseback, thieves fleeing from this city. The law directs "that no search be abandoned either to the north of the march or to the south." These marches of London must have been well-known boundaries, and may well have been the marches or boundaries of Middlesex and Surrey, over which counties the citizens of London actually had recognised hunting rights from a time beyond the recorded memory of man.

I know of no period in English history when Middlesex had no connection with the privileges of London. The charter of Henry I, by which the fee farm of Middlesex was granted to the citizens confirmed their ancient privileges, among which was that of hunting throughout Middlesex.

Middlesex appears therefore to have had an origin as an administrative area, different from that of every other English county, an origin well shown by the name of this Society. The hunting right of the citizens in Middlesex, which was an ancient privilege even in Norman time, extended as far as Staines on the west, the gate of Enfield Park and Waltham Cross on the north, and Stratford Bridge on the east.* These are the limits of the county. The delimitation of Middlesex is consequently evidence of the growth and importance of London during the Anglo-Saxon period.

* Hundred Rolls II, 419.

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The country round London in Anglo-Saxon time was very different, not only from what it is now, but from what it was in the latter part of the middle ages. Forests, marshes, fens, and heaths abounded. On the north was the great forest of Middlesex, through which the Watling Street conducted travellers to the north-west. Middlesex beyond the suburbs of the old city was almost an unbroken forest towards the north.

On the east and north-east was the greater forest of Essex, the bounds of which in later centuries extended from Bow Bridge, Old Ford and the River Lea on the west, to Manningtree and Chelmesford on the east. This great woodland area was so extensive that its parts, centuries later, were known as forests, such as the forest of Chelmersford, forest of Berkentre, forest of Aungre, forest of Waltham, and forest of Kingswood on the east, while another part was known as the forest of Hatfield.*

On the south of the Thames there was much woodland between the river and the Surrey Chalk Downs, while to the south-east a great woodland tract covered a large extent of north-west Kent. The forest names which still survive, such as Malden, Morden, Norwood, Forest Hill, Chislehurst, Woodside, Sydenham and others, point even at the present day to the great extent of woodland which must have existed.

Norwood, especially, was of great extent. As late as the time of the Domesday Survey, a great wood more than seven miles round, which was an appendage to the manor of Battersea, existed at Penge.

The Domesday accounts of the manors in Middlesex are of special interest in reference to the connection

* Fisher, W. R. "The Forest of Essex," pp. 35–6.

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of London and the country near it. Although we know when the city acquired the farm of Middlesex, and first appointed its sheriff, there is no record which tells us when the connection between London and Middlesex in regard to administrative purposes and other matters first began. The district round the great city even in Roman time must have been a necessity to it. Middlesex is a well-defined area, having the Thames on the south, the Lea on the east, the Colne or its brooks on the west, and a range of hilly ground on the north.

A large forest area near it must have been a necessity as long as London had been a populous city. Otherwise how could it have been adequately supplied with fuel? Coal did not come into use until at least three centuries after the Norman conquest, or at least seven or eight centuries after the Anglo-Saxon settlement round London. Wood, charcoal, and peat were the only forms of fuel.

We learn from Domesday Book that the forest land in Middlesex was chiefly covered with oak and beech. We discover this from the entries under many of the manors of the extensive pannage for swine which existed in the woods near to them. The only English trees which afford food for swine, are the oak and beech, whose seeds fall in the autumn.

On the great manor of Harrow there was pannage in the extensive forest land round it for 2,000 hogs, at Hayes for 400, at Hendon for 1,000, Isleworth 500, Harmondsworth 500, Tottenham 500, Willesden 500, Kingsbury 1,000, Edmonton 2,000, Enfield 2,000, Harefield 1,200, Rislepe 1,500, Greenford 300, Westminster 150, Fulham 1,000, Hampstead 100, Tothill 100, and so on.

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These are remarkable figures, and by comparison with similar figures for other counties distant from London, and others nearer to it, their significance becomes increased; for example, in Hampshire, one of our ancient forest counties, the greatest number of swine for which the woods of any manor afforded pannage was 300 at Eling near the New Forest, and the next 100 at Andover, also bordering on forestland. On the other hand, when we consider the manors in Essex, East Berkshire, South Buckinghamshire, all nearer to London, we find evidence of a far greater extent of woodland by the much greater number of swine mentioned in the Domesday record. The total number recorded in Domesday Book for Middlesex alone is upwards of 17,000.

In these remarkable entries I think we may see how Anglo-Saxon London was to a great extent supplied with fuel. This fuel was no doubt brought in both by road and by the river from the forest areas.

Wood must have been extensively used for building and other trade purposes. The Anglo-Saxon wood market was, I believe, situated at the east of Wood Street, and the turners and the makers of wooden cups and dishes had their quarters on the west of the same street at the back of St. Martin's Collegiate Church, where the General Post Office is now situated.

The forests around the city may, therefore, be regarded as having been a necessity to Anglo-Saxon London. In an age when pit coal for fuel was not used a great woodland track near at hand was a necessity to any great city. The forests supplied not only fuel for household purposes, but also fuel in the form of charcoal for its handicrafts and arts. The

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smiths and metal workers of all kinds required charcoal for their arts, and the charcoal burners in the forests were the men who supplied this want, and found a ready market for their commodity in London. Such old place names as Coleham in Middlesex and Collier's Wood in Surrey, which still survive, point to sites of the ancient industry of charcoal burning. Another Middlesex place name, Collington, occurs in an Anglo-Saxon Charter, and the name Coleman Street, which still survives in the city, appears to have derived its name from that part of London in which the ancient charcoal burners congregated or sold their wares. On the south of the Thames the forest area known as Norwood or the north wood of Croydon, was the scene of extensive charcoal burning certainly as late as Queen Elizabeth's time. In the sixteenth century Croydon was chiefly inhabited by smiths and colliers, and the smoky woods between it and Streatham were often lurid at night with their operations. I know of no more picturesque night scene in a forest, than that of charcoal burners engaged in their work, which requires constant care to prevent the slowly burning masses of wood from bursting out into jets of flame through the turf with which the burning heaps are covered. This industry is not yet quite extinct in England. I have visited charcoal burners' huts and seen them at work at night in the New Forest, where the few which remain still have, or had a few years ago, wood rights for their industry. The market of the charcoal burners in Middlesex and Surrey even for many centuries after the Saxon period must have been in London.

Anglo-Saxon London also had adjoining it on several sides an extensive fen of which we are still

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reminded by the names Finsbury, Fenchurch, and Moorfield. This fen extended, more or less, round the city from the east, to the Fleet ditch on the west. "Lunden fenn" is mentioned in a Saxon charter dated A.D. 951. The western entrance to the city from Holborn crossed the fen by a stockaded way, called the Old Stoke in this charter.*

Near the city also were extensive marshes which modern excavations have shown contained thick beds of peat. That peat was dug for fuel by the poorer inhabitants of the country near London in Saxon time, is more than probable from the well-known use of peat by similar people elsewhere.

There were also close to London extensive heaths, over which the people living on the manors had turbary rights, or the privilege of cutting up the fibrous turf for fuel, as the commoners of the New Forest have at the present time. These fens, marshes, and heaths supplied, especially when wood became dear, part of the fuel required by the poorer inhabitants of the city.

The Romans finally left London about A.D. 430, and although the settlement of Kent took place before the end of that century, we have no records until the coming of Augustine, and no contemporary history until the time of Bede, who died about A.D. 730, or three centuries after the Roman withdrawal.

This early Anglo-Saxon age is the darkest period of our history. That period which followed until the time of the Norman Conquest has left us but scanty accounts, and yet the early Anglo-Saxon period saw the beginning of the English race, and that period

* Cartularium Saxonicum III, 692–3.

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must always be a time of great interest to ourselves, and the whole Anglo-Saxon world.

I am not one of those who believe that the Anglo-Saxon race came with all its characteristics already formed from the Continent. The tribes which subsequently formed that race came, as we know, from the Continent. They brought with them their dialects, their customs, their mythology, and other characteristics, but their language was made here. No one can point to a single example of Anglo-Saxon speech which was not formed and written on English soil, and London, the largest city of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the greatest seat of Anglo-Saxon commerce, which received merchants and traders of all the countries from which the Anglo-Saxon settlers had come, must have exercised a great influence in the blending of their dialects and the formation of the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

The Anglo-Saxon language abounded in synonyms, for example, it contained twelve words all denoting man and twelve for woman. Many common objects had synonymous names. Such a circumstance points to a blending of dialects in the formation of a language in which many synonymous words survived. The irregular verbs which have come down to us from the Anglo-Saxon parent language, also point to the same conclusion, and especially the substantive verb to be. In the inflections of this verb some philologists recognise parts of five verbs,* others not less than three,† be, am, art and is are examples, and have come to us from at least three sources.

In the formation of their language from the dialects

* Turner, S. Royal Society of Literature, Vol. I, and History of the Anglo-Saxons. † Latham, R. G. Handbook of the English Language.

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of the various races settled in England, the Anglo-Saxons borrowed root words and dropped endings, and appropriated syntactical combinations without the inflections.

Such a commingling of words in the formation of Anglo-Saxon speech could only have arisen from the intercourse of people of different races and dialects, and as we have evidence, even as far back as Saxon time, that London was the great commercial centre, London must have had a great influence in the blending and formation of the language of that period. The Anglo-Saxon word "burhspræc" for the town speech, the more refined tongue as distinct from the country dialects, appears to me also to point to this conclusion.

In the blending of the dialects of the confederacy of races who settled in England into the common language, London must indeed have played a greater part than has been commonly recognised. Although the monasteries were the only schools of learning, and the places from which the earliest examples of the Anglo-Saxon written speech were issued, London was, above all other ports and cities, the place where men speaking the various languages and dialects met. The common language must have been formed from its practical use by the people, before it could have been reduced to writing in the monasteries. The monks could not have made it, for it comprises words relating to and descriptive of all phases of human life, and of man's intercourse with man.

Here in London, certainly, came Frisian traders from the coasts of the North Sea, people of the same race as the numerous Frisian settlers in England. We read of Frisian merchants in London as early as A.D. 679,

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and in a charter granted by Æthelbald, king of Mercia, in A.D. 743 or 745, we read of the remission on two ships of the early dues or customs levied in "Lundentunes hythe."

We read of the Frisian ships and sailors that formed part of the Navy of King Alfred. Here to London must also have come merchants from the Baltic, from the island of Gotland. During the later period of the Roman Empire and the Anglo-Saxon period, the island of Gotland was the chief emporium of northern Europe. Many thousands of coins of the later emperors and of our Anglo-Saxon kings have been found there, a conclusive proof of the extensive trade of the northern Goths and of their connection with England. The vast ruins of the great city of Wisby in this isle of Gotland are even at the present day one of the archæological wonders of Europe.

Traders from Norway and Sweden also came here. More than 20,000 Anglo-Saxon coins have been found in Sweden and the isle of Gotland, a number not surpassed by those discovered in England itself. Most of these coins, it is true, are of Ethelred's time, when, we know, that the Danes and Norsemen were bought off by large payments, but upwards of 5,000 are coins of other kings, ranging in date from the beginning to the end of the 10th century. In Norway English coins of the 8th century have been found, their dates being from the time of Cænwulf, king of Mercia, A.D. 796-810, to that of Cnut.

The Scandinavian connection with Anglo-Saxon England was not entirely for plunder. When war did not prevail we know that trade went on. Othere, the Norseman, and Wulfstan, who were patronised by

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King Alfred, describe their voyages and the trade they carried on. Othere tells us of the merchandise he brought to England from his home in the north of Norway, the skins of the marten, reindeer, otter, and bear, the eiderdown and whalebone, and the ropes made of whale and sealskins, which the Fins brought to the Northmen as tribute. Wulfstan tells us of his voyages in the Baltic, of its rivers, and the strange customs of the Eastland tribes, where, he says, "there are many burhs, and in each is a king, and the richest men drink mare's milk, and the poor and slaves drink mead."

Such men as Othere and Wulfstan were among the traders to Anglo-Saxon London, and the Scandinavian influence on the language arising from this commercial intercourse must have been considerable, apart from that which arose from the later Danish settlements. Of that commercial intercourse there must have existed in London, and perhaps exists even now here and there beneath the streets, other relics, such as I have found in another ancient port, viz., large pebbles and other fragments of Norwegian granite, that came as ballast in ancient ships, freighted with a bulky but light cargo. Such stones may be looked for among the débris beneath streets and sites of old houses near the river.

Closely connected in interest with Anglo-Saxon London are the chief trade routes at that time, and the commodities which came along them from Asia. The merchant in Ælfric's dialogues is described as bringing in his own ship skins, silk, gems, gold, cloths, pigments, wine, olives, ivory, brass, bronze, tin, silver, glass, and other articles. Sometimes, he says, "I suffer shipwreck with the loss of all my things,

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scarcely escaping myself." In this list the skins first-named, certainly for the most part, came from the north. Constantinople, however, in the time of the Saxons, was the great emporium of the Levant, and no doubt ships came to England from the Mediterranean Sea, but there was another ancient trade route from the east across Russia to the Baltic, and products of Eastern countries could reach England through the Gotland merchants. I have mentioned the thousands of Anglo-Saxon coins found in the isle of Gotland. The Greek, Roman and early Byzantine coins* found there are also very numerous, and Arabic and other Eastern coins have also been discovered. More than twenty thousand coins, struck at Bokhara, Samarcand, Bagdad, and Kufa† have been found in that island; and although some of these may have come by way of Spain, such a vast number of coins lost or forgotten, shows how great the Eastern trade of Gotland, by which silks and other Eastern products probably reached London, must have been. These Goths must indeed have been great traders, and the Frisians, who probably had overland commerce with the Mediterranean, were no less active.

The Frisians and Goths are the earliest traders to Anglo-Saxon London whom we can trace, and they were of the same stock as the people who settled in Kent. In Ethelred's laws relating to trade in Saxon London, the Frisians are called Flandrenses, and the other traders mentioned are the men of the Emperor, the men of Rouen, and those of Normandy and France.

An interesting circumstance connected with the early trade of Saxon London was the system of keeping accounts. Whatever may have been the means of

* du Chaillu, P. The Viking Age, II, 218. † *Ibid*, II, 219.

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reckoning used by the foreign merchants who traded to this port, that which was in use in the dealings between the traders in London and the country people of England itself must have been a system understood by the people, and the oldest form of keeping accounts of which any knowledge has come down to us is that of tallies.

Tallies were made of two similar strips of wood on which similar notches or marks were cut, one of the strips being kept by the payer and the other by the receiver. Whenever a mark was made or cut on one strip it was also made on the other while the strips were together, and these strips were called tallies, because of their exact correspondence.

The tally system of reckoning still survives in Kent during the season of hop-picking, and is actually used at the present time between some of the poorer inhabitants of London who annually migrate to Kent, and the foremen of the hop fields.

Of all the remarkable survivals in England from the Anglo-Saxon period, that of wooden tallies as a system of reckoning has been the most astonishing. Until the year 1824, *i.e.*, within living memory, the accounts of the Exchequer arising from the ancient Crown demesne lands were kept at Westminster by means of wooden tallies.

These old tallies had a record office of their own, at or near the old Houses of Parliament, and the stock of them was immense. In 1843 it was resolved to get rid of these survivals of the Anglo-Saxon system of reckoning, but instead of selling them for firewood, it was unfortunately resolved to burn them at Westminster, and it was that burning and the final passing away of the relics of the old official system of tally

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reckoning, which caused the greater conflagration, by which the old Houses of Parliament were destroyed.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle contains a statement which proves that the wealth of London during the later Saxon period was in comparison with that of the whole of England, much the same in proportion as it has been in later centuries. The passage is that referring to the amount of tribute paid to Cnut on his conquest of the Kingdom, and is as follows, under the year 1018 :—"In this year the tribute was paid all over the Angle race that was in all two and seventy thousand pounds, exclusive of what the townsmen of London paid, which was ten and a half thousand pounds."

Another circumstance which points to the wealth of London in the Saxon period at a still earlier time is afforded by the Laws of King Æthelstan relating to the city. These laws are largely concerning with special regulations for the capture and punishment of thieves, and with the privileges of the citizens in chasing these rogues. It is clear that the opportunities for thieves would be far greater in London, filled with rich merchandise of all kinds, than in other parts of the country.

London, in Anglo-Saxon time, was a commercial prize, which came under the dominion of all of the most powerful Saxon kingdoms in succession, and in sheer vicissitudes of its history no other city resembles it.

We read of it first as a city controlled by the kingdom of Kent in the time of King Ethelbert. Whether it was or was not part of the kingdom of the East Saxons at this time is uncertain, but in any case Ethelbert was the overlord of the East Saxons. We have no evidence that the neighbourhood of London was

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originally settled by people of the same race or races as the people of Essex. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence pointing to this settlement having been made by people of the same races as the people of Kent, *i.e.*, by Frisians and Goths, who later on were commonly called by the name of Jutes.

We first read of London in A.D. 457, in which year the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that the great battle of Crayford in Kent was fought, and the British fugitives from Kent took refuge within the walls of London, the old London walls, of which a small part may still be seen. There are no records as to what happened in London after the great defeat of the Britons at Crayford until the year 604, when we are told that Augustine hallowed Mellitus the first bishop of London, and sent him to preach baptism to the East Saxons, but we are told that it was Ethelbert, the King of Kent, who gave Mellitus his bishop's see in London. Bede tells us also that Ethelbert built the first church of St. Paul, and in his charter to St. Paul's, William the Conqueror specially mentions that it was of Ethelbert's foundation.

The dominion of Ethelbert in the beginning of the 7th century extended from Kent to the Humber, but with him the Kentish empire or overlordship passed away. He died in 616, and the next overlord of a considerable part of England was Edwin, the King of Northumbria, who after Ethelbert's death, married his daughter Ethelburga. The overlordship of the East Saxons, in whose kingdom London was situated, thus passed to Northumbria. We may, however, conclude that the kings of the East Saxons, so long as they remained faithful to their overlord, were not disturbed by the Northumbrian kings, whose sources

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of power were so far away. In the year 654, however, when Oswy was king of Northumbria, it does not appear that the East Saxon king had full power in London. Oswy was a zealous Christian, while the Essex kings had relapsed to paganism. Oswy converted Sigebert, the king of the East Saxons, to Christianity, and we read in 654 of the consecration at Lindisfarne of Cedd, as bishop of London. This revival of Christianity in London was due to Northumbrian influence, and the appointment of the bishop was clearly a Northumbrian appointment, the prelate being consecrated in that famous seat of northern ecclesiastical influence on Holy Island.

It is most improbable that the original Teutonic people who conquered London could have been any other than those of the Kentish race. These Goths and Frisians no doubt followed up their great victory of Crayford, and London later on became their prize. It was not until the year 491, according to the historical statements, that the second Saxon kingdom, that of Sussex, was founded. Whatever local settlements there may have been on the Essex Coast, there was certainly no kingdom of Essex until long after the date of the battle of Crayford, and when it does appear, Essex comes before us as a subordinate kingdom to that of Kent. History, therefore, points to Kent, as the Anglo-Saxon state which first controlled London.

Let me now show you what other evidence there is pointing to the same conclusion. As far as I know, this evidence has never yet been brought before any archæological society, and it is appropriate that it should now come before the London and Middlesex Society.

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One of the peculiarities of the Old Kentish dialect is the early use of the word ken for kin, in which peculiarity it agrees with old Frisian.

In one of a series of papers on "Ancient Kentish Colonies," published in "The Antiquary" during 1899, I traced the migration of colonies of Kentish people as shown by Kentish place names and other evidence, up the Thames from Kent to the border of Gloucestershire. Of all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Kent had the least "hinterland" for the occupation of its increasing population, and the Thames was its natural channel for migration.

We find Kent place names near London mentioned in our oldest national records, such as the Saxon Charters and Domesday Book. In Middlesex we find Kensington, Kenton near Harrow, Kenton (now called Kempton) and others. In Surrey we find Kennington, Kenley, Kents Town and others; and also some derived from Goths, Geats, or Jutes, such as Gætenesheale, the earliest name under which Vauxhall is mentioned, which occurs in a Saxon Charter A.D. 957.*

Some of these places, such as Kenton and Kentish Town, bear the full Kent name. These names are all ancient. All that has been changed a little has been the spelling, by the use of a k for c, the Anglo-Saxon having no k until a late period, the name for Kent being Cent in the Saxon documents, and Chent or Chenth in Domesday Book.

Kentish Town is a name of remarkable significance. This place not only bears the Kentish name, but possessed an unmistakable Kentish custom.

I am aware that some antiquaries have derived the

* Cartularium Saxonicum, III, 189.

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name of Kentish Town, also called Cantelows, from a family named Cantelow. There is, however, much stronger evidence that the family derived its name from the place. The word low in our earliest records is frequently written lai or lau, and sometimes denotes law. Cantelow is thus equivalent to Kent law, and we find in Kentish Town the ancient Kentish law or custom actually prevailed down to modern time.

Even at the present day the common law in regard to inheritance of real estate in cases of intestacy, is different in Kent to what it is in the rest of England. By the Common Law of England, the eldest son succeeds to the real property. In Kent, primogeniture is replaced by the custom of partible inheritance, commonly called Gavelkind, under which all the sons share equally, and the youngest has the right to have the homestead.

In Kentish Town the same custom prevailed down almost to within living memory. The survival of such a remarkable custom side by side with the Kentish name itself, appears to me to point unmistakably to the settlement of Kentish people at Kentish Town.

That the northern and eastern suburbs of London were settled in a similar way by Goths, and Frisians or people of the Kentish race, is rendered very probable by the survival of this Kentish custom of partible inheritance on a series of manors which bounded Anglo-Saxon London on the east and north.

The custom of partible inheritance among the sons was the custom of the manors of Stepney, Mile End, Hackney, Canonbury or Canbury, Newington Barrow or Highbury, Hornsey, and Islington, and this custom survived until almost our own time.*

* Robinson on Gavelkind. Edited by C. J. Elton.

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I can see no other satisfactory explanation of such a remarkable parallelism between the custom of these manors and the common custom of Kent, except a settlement in the early Anglo-Saxon period of Kentish people, or people of the same race on the land bounding the suburbs of Saxon London on the north and east, particularly when we take into account the dominion of the kings of Kent, especially of Ethelbert over London and the district near it at the beginning of the 7th century.

Some of our writers on Early Law have stated that the custom of dividing the lands was the common law of the country before the Norman conquest, but they give no proof of this. The statement has been copied from one to another for centuries, but like many other writers, these later copyists have copied the statements without verification.

There is one historical circumstance of great interest of the time of Henry II connected with this subject, and as it concerns the settlement of the country near London, I will mention it.

The Norman kings desired to see the uniform system of primogeniture established in order to increase the efficiency of their feudal power.

Glanville, who wrote in the time of Henry II, tells us that partible inheritance was only recognised by the Law Courts in his time, in those places where it could be proved that the lands always were divided. Consequently, as the custom was allowed to continue on the manors to the north and east of London, it must have been proved to have been an immemorial custom of these manors to the satisfaction of the law in the 12th century. This custom always has been the common law of Kent, and these manors near

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London with a Kentish custom, had only to prove their Kentish origin, and the proof could not have been questioned. I have no doubt that this custom at Kentish Town and the other manors north of London was so proved.

It has always appeared to me that, as this custom was allowed to survive in so few manors comparatively throughout England, the statements of our legal writers, who have so carefully copied from each other, cannot be accepted without proof.

I consider the survival of these customs in the manors north and east of London, to be of great value as evidence as to whence the earliest settlers on these manors came, *i.e.*, from Kent.

There is also evidence of other kinds pointing in the same direction, *i.e.*, the evidence on the south side of the river, and that of the early archiepiscopal lands.

The evidence of the settlement of Kentish people, or people with customs akin to those of Kent near London on the south side of the Thames is important.

Junior right or the custom of inheritance by the youngest son instead of the eldest as in common law, prevailed from time immemorial unto within living memory, on the manors of Streatham, Croydon, Peckham Rye, Kennington, Walworth, Vauxhall, Wandsworth, Battersea, Lambeth, Barnes, Shene or Richmond, and Petersham. The same custom also prevailed at Edmonton, Fulham, Tottenham, Ealing, Acton, Isleworth, and Earls Court, on the north of the Thames.*

We are thus confronted with this remarkable fact, that London was surrounded by manors which all

* Robinson on Gavelkind. Edited by C. J. Elton; and Corner on *Borough English.*

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possessed from the most remote antiquity, customs of inheritance that differed from primogeniture, the common law of the country, and which agreed with the Kentish custom, or a custom nearly akin to it.

These ancient customs, together with the old Kentish place names, the historical and other evidence, establish the great probability of an original Kentish settlement.

In addition there is the evidence afforded by the ancient lands of the Archbishops of Canterbury in Middlesex.

These lands were the extensive demesnes of Harrow and Hayes, places which remained in the diocese of Canterbury, although geographically in that of London, for many centuries. This circumstance alone points to the probability of their original grant being as early, or earlier, than the existence of the diocese of London.

In studying the origin of manors, villages, and towns, we find that a change of name often occurs, the village or town name supplanting that of the original manorial name. For example, the settlement at Hayes was known as Gedding in the 7th century, a name which still survives in that of Yeading in Hayes parish, and Gedding is a Jutish name. Ceadwalla granted Gedding and Wudeton to Archbishop Theodore in A.D. 687,* and as he, a West Saxon king, had succeeded a Mercian king as the overlord, this was probably a confirmatory grant. We have seen that Harrow was one of the most wooded manors in Middlesex. It was 45 miles in circuit.

The grants of lands to bishops and monasteries by the early Anglo-Saxon kings were colonization grants.

* Cartularium Saxonicum, I, 104.

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All that they had in their power to give was the land, certain services from the people settled on the land, or who might become settled on it, and the fines and forfeitures arising from the administration of the law. Kent, of all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, had the least room for the expansion of its people. As they increased in number they were necessarily obliged to migrate out of what is now Kent. What can have been more likely than that some of the surplus population on the archbishop's lands in Kent should have been allowed to settle on his lands in Middlesex, to the advantage of both the settlers and the archbishop? At any rate, it is very significant that close to Harrow, we find an ancient place named Kenton. The archbishops must have possessed Harrow and Gedding or Hayes from a very early date, for about the beginning of the eighth century Harrow was taken from them by Cœnwulf, king of Mercia, for his own enrichment, and after his death passed to his daughter, the abbess of South Minster, who later on, in 825, had to return it to the archbishopric as agreed to at the Council of Cloveshoe.*

In the year 1002 Archbishop Ælfric in his will † remitted to his tenants in Middlesexon and Suthrion the payments in kind due to him from them. As we have no records of the archbishops of Canterbury possessing land at any early period in Middlesex except the manors of Harrow and Hayes, the possessions referred to in 1002 must have been at these places.

An important change in the tenure of the archiepiscopal lands was made in the time of King John, when the archbishop was empowered by the king to

* Cartularium Saxonicum, I, 528-533.
† Chron. Mon. de Abingdon, I, 416-417.

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convert his gavelkind lands into knights' fees.* The old gavelkind custom, with its incidental custom of partible inheritance, thus gave way to primogeniture, and apparently this was the case with the Middlesex lands at Harrow and Hayes, as well as elsewhere. As far back as history carries us, we find the archbishops of Canterbury holding these great estates in Middlesex. It is not unlikely that they first acquired them through the grant of Ethelberht, king of Kent, who founded the bishopric of London and endowed it and the early church of St. Paul. He could not have done this if he had not possessed authority over Middlesex. These circumstances point to the early settlement of Middlesex having been at least, in part, of Kentish origin.

Again, in the laws of Wihtræd, king of Kent, about A.D. 685, there is a statement which also leads to this conclusion. Law in Anglo-Saxon time was to a great extent administered locally, and in many instances what are now customs of manors are survivals of early local laws.

Kentish people when they migrated, carried with them some at least of their own laws and customs, and the laws of king Wihtræd refer to the Kentish man's heritage, his wergild, and the mund of his family; also the very significant words are used, "be he over the march, wherever he may be." The marches of Kent were its boundaries, and such a clause can only refer to customs of the Kentish man, whether he was within or beyond the boundaries of Kent.

The order in which London was connected with the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms thus appears

* Lambarde. Perambulation of Kent.

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to have been, Kent, Essex under Kent, Essex under Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, Mercia, and finally Wessex.

After the Northumbrian supremacy, London came for the first time under the kings of Mercia. The earliest of these Mercian sovereigns whose authority was acknowledged in and near London was Wulfere, whose dominion lasted until about 675, and who granted or confirmed various charters concerning land in Middlesex, Surrey and Kent. After his death, Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, exercised during the latter part of his reign dominion as an overlord of districts near London. His son, Ine, king of Wessex, was certainly the overlord of London. He became king in 688, when Ceadwalla resigned the crown and went to Rome. In his dooms, Ine mentions Eorcenwald as "my bishop." As Eorcenwald was bishop of London, the reference to him as his bishop points to his supremacy in London. Later on we find London again part of Mercia under king Offa, and after his time it passed finally to Egbert and the kingdom of Wessex. All the Anglo-Saxon kings who exercised the greatest power in England during the period of the so-called Heptarchy, exercised more or less authority over London.

As a trading centre, London appears to have been resorted to by people of all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. For example, in the laws of Hlothere and Eadric, kings of Kent between 673 and 686, we read: "If any Kentish man buy a chattel in Lunden-wic, let him have two or three true men to witness, or the kings wic reeve," from which it appears that witnesses to commercial dealings in London were necessary in the 7th century.

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The Ceap gild of London is mentioned in the laws of Æthelstan.

The names Cheapside and Eastcheap are street names which have of course been derived from the Anglo-Saxon céap, a bargain, or sale, whence also we derived the old name chapman.

A picturesque side of Anglo-Saxon life in London must have been that connected with the departure and return of the chapmen or travelling merchants.

The chapmen were persons of considerable importance, being either associated in Guilds of their own or members of trade guilds. They took their servants with them on the journeys. Chapmen are mentioned in the Laws of Ina about the end of the seventh century.

In king Alfred's time a trader travelling with many people was obliged to announce himself to the king's gerefa at the folk gemôt, at the same time to state the number of persons with him, and engage to present them to justice in case of need. This is found in the 34th law of king Alfred's code. Buying their goods in the commercial centres, they travelled through the country with their conveyances, horses, and men, to sell their commodities. The travelling pedlars of various kind who may be seen at the present day are the commercial representatives of the ancient chapmen, but as a class they have much come down from their former commercial position.

We know the chapmen travelled along the old Roman roads, for on or near some of these roads we find their name, such as Chapmansford, still remaining among the place names of the country. Anybody now can open a shop in any town or village he pleases. It was not so in Anglo-Saxon time, or for

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centuries later. No shop could be opened for the sale of goods anywhere unless the place had a market by prescriptive right or immemorial custom, or had a market charter.

We know the chapmen travelled in the summer, and we may conclude that their return to Anglo-Saxon London and their commercial dealings in the city were chiefly in the winter. In this they are followed by their modern pedlar representatives, some of whose vans you may see, with others that frequent country fairs, wintering in rows at Battersea and other parts of London.

One of the most important antiquities of City administration which still survives in London is that of the Wardmôte Courts.

That these courts have been modified in the course of centuries is certain. That they arose in Anglo-Saxon time in a primitive form there can be little doubt—first, because their name, "Wardmôte," is a purely Saxon name. If these courts had originated under the Plantagenet kings, say in the thirteenth century, when we first read of them, they would certainly have been called by another name, for the Anglo-Saxon language was not in use in the chief cities in the thirteenth century. Secondly, I believe they are of Saxon origin, because of their similarity to the Hundred Courts of the counties, which are undoubtedly of that period, and to the Courts Leet throughout the country. The Alderman of every Ward had an ancient right to hold Leets in his Ward.

A special Anglo-Saxon area of administration which has come down to us in the name Portsoken, was that of the Saxon knights' guild close to Aldgate, an area within London but under its own local court and

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administration. The name Knighten Guild still survives in that of Nightingale Lane.

Time forbids that I should in this paper touch at any length on the Danish settlements close to the City in the later Saxon period. Of that just outside Bishopsgate, known as Bishopsgate Without, we have historical evidence.* St. Clement Danes, also west of Fleet Street, indicates another outlying Danish locality.

We can picture to ourselves with sufficient accuracy some phases of religious life in London during the later centuries of the Saxon period.

First among its churches was the earliest cathedral of St. Paul, a collegiate church, with the religious community attached to it. This was the church founded by Ethelbert, king of Kent. Behind its high altar stood the shrine of St. Erkenwald, the bishop of London, a zealous missionary bishop who did much for the conversion of the heathens of his diocese. He is recorded as having preached much to the people living in the wild forests round London, the woodmen, the charcoal burners, and others. He also founded the abbey of Chertsey and the nunnery of Barking. His shrine was certainly regarded with great reverence, and was, there can be no doubt, visited by pilgrims. The shrine of St. Erkenwald was to St. Paul's what St. Swithin's shrine was to Winchester, and St. Cuthbert's to Durham.

During the Anglo-Saxon period the bones of a revered saint, particularly a wonder-working saint, were the most prized relics any great church could possess, and the saintly remains of bishop Erkenwald were pre-eminently the relics at St. Paul's.

* Hundred Rolls, Vol. II.

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We cannot understand this without fully realising how great a part pilgrimages played in the religious life of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. They made pilgrimages to holy places and sacred shrines, and also very largely and principally for curative purposes to holy wells.

The pilgrimages in later centuries to archbishop Becket's shrine at Canterbury, was not a new phase of religious life developed after his murder, but a continuation of that which had come down as an ancient religious custom, to the people of the 12th and succeeding centuries from their Anglo-Saxon forefathers, directed merely into a new channel. To the Anglo-Saxon people of London at the end of the 7th and succeeding centuries, bishop Erkenwald's life and remains, appealed perhaps as strongly as archbishop Becket's did to the people of the 12th century. Erkenwald's shrine at St. Paul's was the most famous shrine in Anglo-Saxon London.

Of holy wells in or near the city, we can clearly trace two. The reverence paid to springs and fountains (for the Anglo-Saxon word "well" signifies a spring), is far older than the time of the introduction of Christianity into England. The worship of water sources can be traced to the most remote antiquity, and the reverence of holy wells during the Anglo-Saxon and succeeding ages, was but a pagan custom continued under Christian dedications and Christian sanction.

The old name Holywell Street (now High Street) Shoreditch, reminds us of a holy well which gave its name to a Benedictine nunnery called Holy Well there. Holywell Street, Strand, reminds us in a similar way of a holy well west of the city.

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Many of the ancient holy wells were frequented by people with skin diseases or suffering from complaints of the eyes. This arose in many cases from their chalybeate water—known, but not understood. I have found sesquioxide of iron a common ingredient in reputed holy wells now frequented by people for the purpose of washing mangey dogs, so greatly has the character of many of these former holy wells fallen from their former reputation.

As sacred wells are of pre-historic antiquity, I do not think it at all likely these holy wells of London had their sanctity conferred upon them in the middle ages. They were of ancient repute even in those ages.

Another phase of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical life was that of sanctuary. Every church was a temporary sanctuary, where even those guilty of slaying others could find temporary refuge, and on abjuring the realm could save their lives.

The collegiate Church of St. Martin, however, whose foundation goes back beyond the range of history, but which tradition ascribes to Wihtræd, king of Kent about A.D. 700, a tradition which its dedication to St. Martin strengthens, was a permanent sanctuary—where, under the law of the church, criminals fleeing to her for protection, and subject to certain conditions, were permanently safe.

The walls of St. Martin certainly must have contained a more remarkable body of inhabitants than any other place in Anglo-Saxon London. St. Martin was within the city, but not of it, and similarly St. Paul's had a jurisdiction of its own quite apart from that of the city. In his charter to St. Paul's, William the Conqueror speaks of it as "juxta civitatem London."

Another trace of religious life in Anglo-Saxon

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London which has come down to us is that supplied by the dedication of churches to the English or other Saints held in great reverence at that time, and which are almost certain to have been contemporary or nearly contemporary dedications.

Among these are—

St. Ethelburga, an Anglo-Saxon princess, sister of bishop Erkenwald and abbess of Barking. She lived about the end of the 7th century.

St. Werburg, daughter of Wulphere, king of Mercia, and descended also from the Kentish kings, a founder of nunneries and an abbess of high sanctity, who died about the end of the 7th century.

St. Botolph, an East Anglian saint, who died in A.D. 655.

St. Osyth, a Mercian princess, who was beheaded by the Danes.

St. Dunstan, a native of Wessex, and successively bishop of London and archbishop of Canterbury.

St. Edmund, king of East Anglia, and martyred by the Danes in 870.

St. Swithun, bishop of Winchester after London had come under the dominion of Wessex.

St. Alphege, or Ælfheah, martyred by the Danes under Sweyn, whose body was originally buried in St. Paul's.

The veneration of these saints, all of Anglo-Saxon fame, and others such as St. Helen, whose discovery of the wood of the cross was a reality to the people of Anglo-Saxon London, was so great that the traces of that veneration have survived to our own time.

These names and others such as Erkenwald, to whose memory shrines or altars were dedicated, attest the reverence of the people of Anglo-Saxon London for saintly personages of all the English kingdoms, under the rule of which they successively passed or were connected in commercial intercourse.

The Saxon chronicle gives us an interesting picture of the removal of St. Ælfheah's body to Canterbury in the year 1023. It says: "In this year King Cnut

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within London in St. Paul's monastery, gave full leave to Archbishop Æthelnoth and Bishop Bryhtwine, and to all God's servants who were with them, that they might take up from the burial place, St. Ælfheah. And they did so on the 6th Ides of June. And the renowned king and the archbishop, and suffragan bishops, and earls, and very many men in orders, and also laymen, conveyed in a ship his holy body over the Thames to Southwark, and there delivered the holy body to the archbishop and his companions, and they with an honourable band and winsome joy conveyed him to Rochester," and so on to Canterbury.

At this time, apparently, London Bridge had not been rebuilt.

In conclusion, I may say there are two early customs in which London resembled Kent, and which were probably derived from it. In Kent every man was personally free. As far back as our legal records extend, if a man could show that he was born in Kent, he could not be called on for personal services to the lord of the manor on which he resided. It was a good plea in law that he was of Kentish birth. One of our poets has written of Kent:—

"Among the English shires be thou surnamed the free."

The name "Franklins of Kent" has found a place in our literature.

Similarly, in London every man was personally free who was born in the city or who had resided in it for a year and a day. London was called the "Free Chamber of the King of England."

The Norman Conqueror acknowledged that the burgesses in London were all law worthy, or personally free. There were no bondmen within her walls.

In her Anglo-Saxon customs, London bore a still

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more remarkable resemblance to Kent. In Kent, as I have mentioned, partible inheritance among sons was a custom so highly prized, that it has survived, contrary to the common law, until our own time.

The same custom prevailed, not only on the manors near London, as I have mentioned, but survived until some time after the Conquest in the city of London itself. We learn this important fact from William the Conqueror's charter to the city, which was written in Anglo-Saxon for the general information of the people. The significance of this survival has, I think, been overlooked.

The modern English of this charter runs as follows:—

"William the king greets William the bishop and Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgesses within London, French and English. And I grant you that I will that ye be all of your law worthy, that ye were in the days of king Edward. And I will that every child be his father's heir after his father's day. And I will not suffer that any man do you wrong. And God you keep."

As every child was to be *his* father's heir (not his or her father's) we have here a proof that the custom referred to was the old Kentish custom of partible inheritance among sons.

We arrive, therefore, at this conclusion—that this ancient law, the survival of ancient customs, the oldest historical references to London, and the circumstances connected with its Anglo-Saxon trade, all agree in pointing to Frisians and Goths, and especially those of Kent, the first of English kingdoms, as the original settlers in London, the greatest of English cities.

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

SIR ROBERT CLAYTON'S PORCH AND CHRIST CHURCH.

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A SHORT ACCOUNT OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, NEWGATE STREET.

Given at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at Christ's Hospital, on Friday, the 20th April, 1900.

BY

THE REV. E. H. PEARCE, M.A.,

Vicar of Christ Church.

IT is quite fair to inform you at the outset that, taking it in the mass, the building which you have come to see this afternoon, cannot pretend to any great antiquity, except certain very small parts of it. To enormously long historical associations it can make claim, and very proud it is to do so. You look out, for instance, on the garden of the Treasurer, which is on your right as you sit, and you see what is absolutely virgin soil—ground which was closed in somewhere about the year 1225, as part of what a surveyor would call the "amenities" of the original messuage. This must necessarily be the beginning of any description of Christ's Hospital; it does not begin, however Irish it may seem, with its own foundation some three centuries and a half ago. The actual site, which belonged to the Franciscans, I have roughly tried to place upon the blackboard, and I will shortly say a few words upon it. Let me, however, even at the expense of saying what a great many know already, explain how it was that the Franciscans came to be here at all. It was in the year 1224 that some

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nine brethren arrived at Dover, four of whom pushed on as soon as they could to London. They seem to have lodged for a short time at Blackfriars, that is to say with their Dominican Brothers, and after that they obtained by hire the house of a certain Sheriff Travers—a name which sounds modern enough—upon Cornhill. That house, apparently of no very great pretensions, rapidly became too strait for them. They required to have, so remarkably did their work appeal to the citizens, an altogether new site, and it is known to anybody who has studied the Franciscans at all that they had a strong objection on conscientious grounds not merely to good sanitation but to surroundings which could not pretend to be absolutely and unjustifiably unhealthy. It was their bounden duty and service, as they considered, to follow their noses in this sense, and therefore at the end of a very short time, having found that they wanted further accommodation, they accepted an offer made to them by a citizen called Ewen of the site which is represented on the blackboard. It was one which would naturally appeal to the desire of the Franciscans to have a dwelling which was generally unwholesome to live in. Upon the east it is bounded by the street in which I now have the pleasure to live, which was then called Foul or Stynkynge Lane. (Laughter.) In the course of years it came to be called Chick Lane, and many of you now in this room can doubtless remember when its name was perhaps a scarcely more fragrant one, viz., Butcher Hall Lane. In these last times it has taken to itself, with better sanitation, a respectable [and, since these words were spoken, a still more auspicious] title, and King Edward Street is healthy

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as well as loyal. The north side of the site was bounded by the City Wall, which, as you know, was only just this side of the Town Ditch, whose odours need not be particularised, if you remember that, open and not ashamed, this main sewer of the City thus ran past the Franciscans' ground. On the south there were the Flesh Shambles, an arrangement of slaughter-houses, which, as there was then no London County Council, were not so salubrious as they might have been. Therefore you are dealing with a triangular site, which satisfied the desire of the Franciscans to mortify themselves by living in an unhealthy neighbourhood. Of course, it is only fair to say that, if the neighbourhood was unhealthy, they knew there must be work of a higher kind for them to do. They were great social workers, in fact the great "slummers" of those days, and St. Ewen's gift—for he became a saint afterwards—has been variously looked upon according to the temperament of the individual. Bishop Creighton, with whom I walked through the school a short while since, told me that he could quite understand Ewen's liberality, for the land must have been quite unsaleable under any circumstances [alas, that his early death should add pathos to the recollection of it]. As a matter of fact Ewen shortly afterwards retired into our monastery, and ended his days there, so possibly there is some ground for that contention. Still depending, as they always did, upon the liberality of the citizens, which was very generously accorded to them at all times, the Franciscans went forward with a little building. You are aware that it was against all the traditions of the Order to have any very strong buildings. The

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first chapel, for instance, that they erected on their Shrewsbury settlement was of stone, but a most peremptory order came from the headquarters in Italy that the stone building should be taken down and replaced by one of mud. That was the Franciscans' rule in such matters, and for a time they stuck to it. But it is quite obvious that a great movement like this was bound to lead to the erection of large and commodious buildings. Therefore, upon this site, which is bounded by the three unsavoury boundaries which I have mentioned, you get first of all the absolute requisite of a monastery, the Great Cloister. The south side of that Great Cloister, which I shall have the pleasure of showing you later on, is the one part of the old monastery that survives to-day. Over the east side of it was the Great Dortor (or dormitory), which was practically ruined by the Great Fire. Upon the North Cloister in the year 1429 no less a person than Dick Whittington constructed for the Friars a large Library. That also meant a great falling off in the Franciscans from original righteousness. For St. Francis, when asked by the brothers to give them some books, replied that they did not want any books except a breviary, and he was the breviary (*Ego breviarium*); yet they became, in due time, a learned and scientific Order, and Dick Whittington presented to them a very fine library, which practically all survived, as far as the building went, until about the year 1800. He gave them also some £400 worth of books. You will find the building very clearly described in Stow. On the west side of the Cloister there was the Refectory, which was the site of the place where the Blues themselves fed for a great

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number of years. Still further to the west is the site —with no trace of the building—of the Little Cloister and Infirmary. Between that and the site of the old Giltspur Street Compter stood the Bakehouse and the Brew-house. All these buildings passed in 1552 into the possession and use of Christ's Hospital; and at the east of the site, where we now are, there were other erections, from one of which the Governors ejected my predecessor, the first vicar of Christ Church, in order to make a "compting house." They bought his bedsteads and all his belongings, and got rid of him, and sometimes I think sadly that it will soon fall to my lot to see the exodus of the Hospital's bedsteads, and perhaps to return to the site on which my first predecessor had his lodging.

I must now say something about the Church itself. You will see that a large part of our ground-plan is taken up by the minster of the Franciscans. The first chapel that stood upon the site was begun almost immediately after they came here in 1225; but about the year 1306, when their reputation with all classes of people was established on a very large scale, no less a person than Margaret, the wife of Edward I, came forward and offered to erect them a very stately building. She started to build the Choir; the whole Church took over thirty years to build. It was consecrated before it was finished in the year 1325. It was finally finished about 1337. It must have been a magnificent building, 311 feet long, rather more than three times the length of the present church, and exactly its width, viz., 89 feet. It had fifteen windows on each side. The present church stands merely on the site of the choir

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of the old church. This Grey Friars Church became the fashionable burying place of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and just as the wealthy Florentine of old paid largely to be buried in San Miniato, so it was believed that things would be made comfortable and easy for you in another world if you could afford to be shrouded in the habit of the Franciscans, and buried in the choir of their church here. The result was that crowds of "persons of quality" lie buried there. There are thus beneath the present Christ Church the remains of at least three Queens of England and one Queen of Scotland: Margaret, daughter of Philip of France, the second wife of Edward I; Isabella, wife of Edward II; Phillippa, Queen of Edward III; and Joan, Queen of Scots; the wife of David Bruce, and so on. Stow has preserved a full list. According to their rank they all had their splendid tombs, and thus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century this must have been one of the most magnificent churches that the country contained. *The Grey Friars Chronicle* relates that Cardinal Wolsey began to "enter hys visitacioun" in 1525, and though he did not actually superintend the turning out of our Friars, yet he began the movement, and they were finally suppressed in the year 1538; they were turned out bag and baggage, and the chief purpose which the Church served during the next eight or nine years was to store the wine which had been captured in certain French ships. But it also served a better object, sheltering, for a time, the printing press of Richard Grafton, who was the first really active Treasurer of Christ's Hospital. He also had at that time another press working in a part of

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. THE COURT ROOM.

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the "Hall Play" ground, which, till a century or so ago, was always called "Grey Friars."

We are assembled in a room which is full of pictures, and as these pictures have a definite historical interest, it may be well for us to follow them round, and see how the various persons, however unsociable their faces look, are intimately connected with the great days of this ancient institution. Here, in the first instance, is King Henry VIII, the despoiler of our monastery of the Grey Friars. In arriving at that result he went through one of his characteristic plans. There was a Church here close by, between this and St. Martin's le Grand, named after St. Ewen, the donor of this site; and there was another Church called St. Nicholas in the Shambles. "Obviously," said Henry, "there are too many churches about here"—one has heard it said since then—"what could be better than to destroy several of these churches, and leave the Abbey Church of the Grey Friars as the Parish Church?" That came to pass, and in a way, that is the beginning of the use of this ground for Christ's Hospital. Subsequently Henry's Letters Patent gave into the hands of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London, to form a house for the use of the poor, a parcel of ground consisting both of our site and of the site of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. What he made out of it I am not prepared to say, though I do not think it was very much. The only pity is that the City's correspondence tends to show that Henry, having discovered the necessity of founding a house for the poor, endeavoured to *sell* to the City the site which he had grabbed from the friars. Happily, Henry had to express his regret that

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the Corporation were very "pinch-pence" in the matter. They were in no hurry to pay a price for a site which was mere "stolen goods." Anyhow, the site was conveyed on December 27th, 1547, for a house for the poor. To this extent, therefore, Henry VIII was our founder. Some four or five years passed, and it would appear that absolutely nothing was done with our particular part of the site. St. Bartholomew's Hospital started, and did its work for the poor, and in the meanwhile the City was teeming with children who could no longer find refuge in the conventual houses where they had hitherto been taught. They had to be provided for somehow, and what Edward VI did was of course not to become a liberal benefactor of Christ's Hospital, though he allowed it to receive land in mortmain of the annual value of 4,000 marks, but merely to arrange that such part of the land given by Henry to provide a "house of the poor" as was not then being used should be handed over for a "house" to be called Christ's Hospital, into which the children of the City should be taken; and I say children, because this place was never intended to be merely a boys' school, but one in which both sexes were to be treated alike, and indeed for a very long time both sexes had their meals in the same hall at the same time. Whether, under the circumstances, there was any peace in the hall, must be left to your imagination, but such was undoubtedly the custom.

The work of preparing this site for the purposes of a school began in the summer of 1552. You will find in our first Ledger, which is on view, that the accounts begin with "Rewards to the carpenters,

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bricklayers," and so on. It was only in the month of November that anything was brought in in the way of "supplies," and then the very first item of the commissariat is £3 6*s.* 8*d.* worth of "beare." (Laughter.) I have said that Edward VI gave very little indeed for the endowment of this Institution, and I want now to call your attention in this connection to the portrait of Sir Richard Dobbs. It is worth your while to read as you go out, if you can, the inscription below that portrait:—

"Christes Hospitall erected was a passinge dede of pitie,
What tyme Sr Richard Dobb was Maior of thys most fam^s citie."

Dobbs was the head and front of the movement which got together the money necessary for starting Christ's Hospital. It is very important that upon that point we should be perfectly clear. The work of this Institution has been carried on until the year 1891, by the benevolence, first of the citizens of London only, and more recently by the benevolence of those who were not citizens; and, in my opinion, if the same liberality had been consistently maintained by the Civic authorities as such, there would not have been any question of depriving the Corporation of that hold which it rightly had upon the Institution for a great many years. Dobbs and his friends gathered themselves together, and collected a very large sum of money. I have often thought that modern charities, with their business-like schemes for "raising the wind," are completely in the shade as compared with our first benefactors. They made a decree that, on a particular Sunday, collections should be made in every City church—(I should like to see my Alderman "decreeing" anything of the sort)—

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and they issued collecting boxes which people were to put on the tables of their houses; and, as they could not trust the City clergy any more than some people will trust them now, they wrote a sermon, "a fine, witty and learned oration," (that, at least, was their own verdict on it) and sent it round that the clergymen might preach it, and "move the people to charity." (Laughter.) I do not think Dobbs and his colleagues had to build any rooms or any structures at all. All they had to do was to put the existing accommodation into order.

You will be able to see a list of the first staff of the Hospital, and it will show you how completely this was a *hospital* to start with, quite as much as a school. The aggregate salaries of the doctors matron and nurses were about double the total sum paid for education. The first thing to do was to get the children clean, and so thoroughly was that work performed that the chronicler tells us how hundreds of the children having been taken from the dunghill, and brought into clean surroundings, simply "died downright." Education, therefore, was rather a secondary consideration, but it began at once. And this brings me to the picture of Dame Mary Ramsey—a somewhat sour-looking lady with a menacing finger. She endowed our Writing School, and her husband was Sir Thomas Ramsey, Lord Mayor in 1577. In that year some attempt had been made to start a Writing School; but when Lady Ramsey died, her benefaction placed it on a permanent basis, and, up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was quite common to see mention in our books of "The Master of the Lady Ramsey's Writing School." She also left

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funds for the purpose of sending the boys of this Hospital to the University. She endowed with a large sum of money my own College at Cambridge, and she was buried in the old church of Christ Church, Newgate Street. She left me, as Vicar, 10*s*. a year for looking after her tomb, which the "City Parochial" authorities refuse absolutely to pay me. To her, personally, by a curious coincidence, I am under very considerable obligations. I learned writing at Christ's Hospital, as the result of her original foundation. I was an exhibitioner of this Hospital at the University, as the result of her foundation of Exhibitions here. I was scholar, nominally on her foundation, at Peterhouse. I am now the legal guardian of her monument in Christ Church. She has followed me all through my life, and an engraving of this picture points its finger at me in my study. (Laughter). It is impossible to tell where that Writing School was, for the exact position of the early schools is a matter of complete mystery. It is not till after the Fire that we begin to see where the teaching went on. We see what terrible straits the Fire put the place to. We find regulations that the boys in the Writing School are to refrain from making what is called a "tumultuary removal up and down" over the heads of the boys of the Grammar School underneath, and again that the boys in the Reading School are to refrain from making a "tumultuary removal" over the heads of the boys in the Writing School. There was, somewhere or other, a three-storied building, each storey of which was used for the purposes of a school.

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In Queen Elizabeth's time there was a right-of-way straight through Christ Church under the lantern-tower; and as you came along Christ Church passage just now you enjoyed the liberty they took. The Fire is naturally described in the books of the Hospital with very great definiteness. I have not time to allude to all of it, but what happened was roughly this: The Fire was travelling from the south-east, and it naturally attacked first the great Church itself, which suffered very considerably from the burning of the lead and from the effects of the Fire generally. But it was large enough to protect our Cloisters which stood to the north of it. Consequently these Cloisters and Whittington's Library survived in part up to the early years of last century. The historian of Christ's Hospital—Mr. Trollope—wrote that in 1832 there was still part of the wall of the Whittington Library left. You have yourselves seen, as you came in, the South Cloister, which we call the "Giffs." I have no doubt in the world that that word "Giffs" is simply a corruption of Grey Friars, though it is popularly explained with reference to a Beadle of past years. "The Grey Friars" is the name given in the books, as already mentioned, to a part of the Hall Playground, and the Cloister, being used as a natural passage towards "the Grey Friars," got to be known as "The Giffs" (G-F's). The parts not protected by the Church were entirely destroyed, including the Treasurer's house, which had only been built twenty years. Let us see how Christ Church was treated as a reward for protecting the ancient buildings of the Hospital. Sir Christopher Wren was then in full command of these matters, and he decided that

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. "GIFFS" CLOISTER, INTERIOR.

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. "GIFFS" CLOISTER, EXTERIOR.

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only the choir of the Church should be re-built. I am of opinion that the destruction of Christ Church by fire was only partial, and I will read to you a few sentences out of our records which give an account of the Fire. "This Hospital of Christ was almost consumed, with the two great Churches adjoining, in September, 1666"—I conjecture that these two were the Choir and the Nave of Christ Church, the Nave being always called the West Church, and the two being separated by the public passage already mentioned—"with the two Churches adjoining, except the four Cloisters to which the fire hath done no hurt, and about three Wards—towards the Sick-Ward and severall roomes there, as also the Wardrobe of this Hospital over the South Cloister, the Fire hath done no hurt, and several other rooms there, as also the wardrobe of this Hospital over the South Cloister." That Cloister contained over it a ward (which must have had a party wall with the Church), "the glazed windows of the Church on that side being very little damnified." Now a Church which is burnt, and of which the windows are very little harmed is not, it seems to me, beyond the hope of restoration, and we know that for twenty years after the Fire divine service was performed in Christ Church, in a Tabernacle erected in the middle of the Choir. Sir Christopher Wren ultimately erected, on the site of the demolished Thirteenth Century Choir, a building which, for my part, I would gladly sacrifice for the sake of a bit of the Old Church. The West Church, he decided, should not be rebuilt, and he quietly made over the foundations of its north wall to Christ's Hospital, in order that this benevolent

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looking old gentleman, Sir Robert Clayton, might erect over it the exquisite red-brick building that you saw on the left as you came down the passage. I am sorry to say that the Bishop of London fully consented to the robbery, as also did the Court of Aldermen; the value of the stolen ground to-day would restore to my parish something of the affluence it once enjoyed, but I am not sanguine of securing it. The records contain complaints that the Cloisters were very weak even before the Fire. It is extraordinary, in their state of weakness, how any part of them survived at all, but it did. For instance, a regulation was passed that the children in the wards were to cease washing the plates because the Cloisters underneath were exceedingly weak.

Now we come to the men who gradually caused this Hospital to rise from the dead as it were. Erasmus Smith, Esq., a gentleman with a considerable amount of property in Ireland and an educational benefactor to Dublin, is one of the chief of them. What troubled him in connection with the Fire was that the Counting House received its proper attention immediately, while the children were treated as a secondary consideration. I found a letter the other day from old Erasmus, where he speaks of "the great intendment of this happy foundation" being hopelessly neglected, and urges that the children ought to be brought back there at once with a view to "theire Discipline and Education in piety." He made himself responsible for rebuilding a large number of buildings, gave money, and provided the necessary material. The President at that time was Sir John Frederick, ex-Lord Mayor, who had been in the School, and who occupied the position of President

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. INTERIOR OF GREAT HALL.

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longer than anyone except the Duke of Cambridge, who has doubled Sir John Frederick's record and still takes as keen an interest in the Hospital as any man living. Sir John Frederick is remarkable for having built a hall on the site of the Franciscan Refectory, which was the scene of a great many interesting ceremonies, especially the Public Suppers. These suppers used to be held on Sunday nights (instead of Thursdays, as now) and, as far as I can gather, they were welcomed as a form of amusement at a time when entertainments were not numerous. Our books record frequent regulations for keeping "the rabble," who came up into the Hall on Sunday nights, from getting into the Hall at all. The Beadles were told to prevent them from coming in, and to let in "only persons of quality," who were expected to show a practical monetary interest in what they saw. The Beadles then were not too respectable; they were mostly publicans in a small way, and a good attendance at "Public Suppers" meant very good business for the Beadle.

Sir John Frederick was also in other ways a very great benefactor and friend of the boys, and they were allowed to express their thanks to him in language which must have been embarrassing. A youthful orator in 1664 thus comforted the good President:—"When you dy, you shall swim to your grave in the Tears of Orphans and on your Tombe shall they ingrave this Motto:—

> 'Here lies the Orphans' Father most discreet,
> Rare fruit made ripe for Heaven, for earth too sweet.'"

Thomas Barnes, the subject of the next portrait, is not connected with the re-building but with two things

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of interest,—the plate, which will be described to you directly, and the foundation of the service and dinner in this Hospital on the 17th of November, in connection with the Accession of Queen Elizabeth. The dinner is no longer held, but we perpetuate (without endowment) the custom of the Sermon on the Virgin Queen and the Reformation. It was preached last November (1899) by the (late) Bishop of London, and in 1900 by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sir John Moore, to whom I now pass, built us our present Writing School. The plans were nominally the work of Sir Christopher Wren, but an entry in the books shows that the Governors made a present of ten guineas to "Mr. Hawkesmore, Sir Christr. Wren's gentleman," who had taken a "great pains and industry in making the draughts," and was likely to be at considerable trouble "in the time of building it"—that is the Writing School. Hawkesmoor designed St. Mary Woolnoth, but there were not known to be any other buildings of his in the City. He was commissioned, as you will remember, by the Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, to erect their "Fellows' Buildings," but the Provost dismissed him as being "too luxuriant and exorbitant." Outside that Writing School there is a statue of Sir John Moore [since removed to Horsham], who gave the entire cost of the building, rather over £4,000. The Governors, having decided to erect a statue of the donor, gave a commission to "Mr. Gibbons, a carver." So it is that our records speak of the famous Grinling Gibbons. Alas! When that statue in marble of Sir John Moore was delivered, the Governors refused to pay for it, "the same being in no way liked off," and "the face in no

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND THE MATHEMATICAL SCHOOL.

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way resembling Sir John Moore." A balance of £60 (£30 having been already paid in advance) was due to Gibbons, and he suggested if the good Alderman would give him another sitting he would make it right. Three Governors were told off to watch the process. After considerable delay, however, the famous "carver" got his money.

I must now briefly ask you to notice the beautiful pictures of Mr. Colwall and Mr. Stone. These gentlemen are connected with the foundation of the Royal Mathematical School. King Charles II, whose picture hangs close by, was called, by courtesy, "the Royal Founder" of this Mathematical School, Mr. Colwall being merely the gentleman who provided the money to endow it. The latter gave to the Hospital a sum of £7,000, which was invested in the Excise. That sort of security being one which was "quite safe" for the Government, it was impossible to get the money out; so Charles II "founded" the Mathematical School by allowing the £7,000 to be released from the Excise—into which he had not put it—at the rate of £1,000 a year. He certainly gave them afterwards £370 a year for apprenticing the boys in the ships of the Royal Navy.

I only desire now to call your attention to an odd custom that once prevailed here, and is connected with Mr. Thomas Stretchley, whose portrait is also here. If any of us had been Governors of Christ's Hospital in September, 1692, when he died, we should have received a notice which ran as follows:—"Sir, Your Worship as a Governour of this Hospital is desired to be present at the Great Hall (date and hour being given) from thence to accompany the Corps of

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Thomas Stretchley, Gentleman, to the Tabernacle in Christ Church to hear a sermon. Pray, Sir, be pleased to appear, his Executors having declared that he is a Bountiful Benefactor to the poor children of this Hospital."—As a matter of fact he gave to the Hospital some £5,000. This invitation represents a custom by which the children of this Hospital—whom you will therefore pity—were allowed for a very long period to be let out as mutes. When a munificent benefactor died—especially a Treasurer—he was allowed to have all the children to attend his funeral, and his corpse had the pleasant sensation of being accompanied to its resting place by some hundreds of children, who got very little in the shape of refreshment, and who would remember him for evil as long as they lived. There is a book in the Counting House which records every funeral so attended by the children from the year 1622 to the year 1754, though the custom is older still. I have been at the pains of going through the book, and I find that there were at least 1,500 such funerals between those dates, and the net profit to the Hospital from the system was somewhere about £75,000. Sometimes ladies desired to have our girls to attend their obsequies; I find, for instance, an entry that 40 girls attended the funeral of a lady, and in the margin there is a mention of 40*s*. In fact any member of the British public could hire the children to "mourn" at so much a head, or could secure their attendance by leaving a legacy to the Hospital.

With the portrait of Mr. Poynder at the end of the room, we come to the Treasurer who was in office at the time that the latest buildings were erected.

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL. THE HALL AND THE "HALL-PLAY."

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The foundation stone of the present Hall was laid in 1825, and the other buildings followed in due course. When I tell you that the contract for one of these buildings is announced in the books to have been accepted from "the respectable firm of Cubitt and Sons," in 1834, you will begin to feel that you have got back to modern times.

NOTE:—Mr. Pearce feels that an apology is due to Members of the Society who did not take part in the visit, for the form in which his talk is here given; the only alternative was to re-write the whole. But the use of the portraits, as so many texts, may be defended in view of the fact that, when the buildings are demolished the pictures will remain as a *nexus* between Christ's Hospital present and Christ's Hospital future.—*February*, 1901.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANTIQUE PLATE BELONGING TO CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society at Christ's Hospital, on Friday, the 20th April, 1900,

BY

HUBERT DYNES ELLIS, Esq.

I HAVE have been asked to say a few words on the subject of the Christ's Hospital Plate. I will endeavour to condense my remarks into as limited a space as possible, as our time to deal with the subject in an exhaustive manner is inadequate. I will also, to the best of my ability, avoid the use of technical terms. It is a most interesting collection, and one well worthy of your attention and inspection for three reasons. First, because most of the pieces are excellent examples of their kind; second, because many of them are extremely rare; and, third, because I think I may say that all of them, without exception, are in an unusually fine state of preservation. I have never seen any collection of plate which equals them in the latter respect, and it reflects great credit upon the past custodians, who have exercised a most pious care of these valuable objects which were committed to their charge. It is my firm hope and belief that that care will not be allowed to diminish in the hands of the present custodians. I will deal with the pieces, as far as I can conveniently, in the order of date. No. 1.—This is a fine Drinking Horn. The earliest drinking vessels were made from natural objects—horns, shells, etc. From the shell we derived

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PLATE IN THE POSSESSION OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL PLATE. I. DRINKING HORN.

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the spoon, and from the horn we got the beaker. This is a particularly fine specimen of a horn, mounted in silver gilt. The mouth is furnished with a bell-shaped rim with a reeded lip, springing from a foliated or imbricated collar. It is supported on two claws with feathered legs. The ball-and-claw decoration is familiar to everybody, and there is not a design more persistently in vogue, not only in metal work but in furniture. The legs are attached to the body by a broad silver gilt band, upon which is an inscription: IN GOD IS AL. The point of the horn is shod with a ferrule or tip, which terminates in a ball with a reeded belt round it, and at the extremity is a Tudor rose—the double rose. There is neither Hall-mark nor Maker's mark upon this piece, and the question now is, to what date to assign it. The rim, with its reeded lip and its collar, is almost exactly like some found upon the mazer bowls of the middle of the fifteenth century. The lettering of the inscription also points to the same period—each word is separated by a floral design and the letters are of the type then employed. If that were not sufficient, we have the Tudor rose, which is not found anterior to 1485, so I think we are safe in saying that this horn dates from about 1485 to 1490, the commencement of the reign of Henry VII. Upon the rim is pounced this: "The gift of Thomas Bankes to Christ's Hospital, 1602." I do not wish to detract from the merit of Mr. Bankes—the Bankes family were great benefactors to this Institution—but I cannot help thinking there is a little question whether this inscription is accurate. In the account book of the Hospital there is an entry, under the date 1567, which describes this horn as being the property of the

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Hospital at that date, and it would appear, therefore, that the inscription must have been put on long after. Accidentally, no doubt, this horn was in error ascribed to Mr. Bankes, whereas, in fact, he gave something else. No. 2.—The next piece is a bell-shaped Salt, and it has, as you will notice, the ball-and-claw feet. It is a three-decker, in three tiers. There are receptacles for salt, pepper, spices, and what-not. It is an unusually fine salt, and I have never seen one finer. It is in admirable preservation, and stands fourteen inches high. It is ornamented with conventional Elizabethan scrolls or flowers, centering alternately in chrysanthemums and Tudor roses. The Hall-mark is of the year 1607, and the Maker's mark is N R over a helmet. The salt has engraved upon it a coat-of-arms, Between four fleurs-de-lis a cross charged in the fess point with a crescent for difference. These are the arms of the Bankes family. A pounced inscription states that it was given by Mr. Bankes about 1632, showing that it was inscribed some time later. Probably the inscription on the Drinking Horn was made at the same time. No. 3.—This is a very fine example of a tall Standing Cup and Cover. The Hall-mark is of the year 1594, and the Maker's mark is I E over three pellets. The cup is pyriform in shape, and is elaborately embellished with Elizabethan scroll and foliage decorations. The stem is formed as a forked and twisted trunk of a tree. In some specimens of this sort of cup which I have seen there has been added, at the base, a little statue of a woodman engaged in felling the tree. A raised collar of vine leaves encircles the cup. The foot is decorated with alternate masks and clusters of fruit. The cover is

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CHRIST'S HOSPITAL PLATE. 2. BELL-SHAPED SALT, 1607.

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3. STANDING CUP, 1594. 18. NUREMBURG CUP.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL PLATE.

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4. WINE CUP, 1630. 6. CLEAVE CUP, 1637. 7. EWER, 1638.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL PLATE.

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surmounted with a statuette of a blue-coat boy. His dress is slightly different to that of the present day. It has a falling collar to the coat, and round the waist is a tassled girdle, from which is hanging a pen-case. Boys in those days carried their cases hung on to their girdles. This cup was given by Mr. John Bankes, citizen and barber surgeon, in 1602. No. 4. —These are three Wine Cups, all identical in form. They are quite plain, with baluster stems, and they bear the London Hall marks of 1630, which are so fresh that one might imagine that they had come straight from Goldsmiths' Hall into this room. The Maker's mark is "R. S." over a heart. The Bankes' arms are on one side and the Bankes' crest on the other. I have not been able to discover to which branch of the Bankes family this crest belonged. The inscription upon them records that they were given by Mr. John Bankes, in 1630. No. 5.—I now come to the Spoons. As you may be aware, spoons are among the most ancient objects to be found in silver; and the ancestor of the spoon was, no doubt, the cockle shell. Perhaps, here, I may be allowed to digress a little. Among the ancient Greek and Roman spoons, by far the most common type we find has a long tapering stem, terminating in a very fine point, and the Latin poet, Martial, in one of his quaint epigrams, seems to have been under the impression that the name "Cochleare" (spoon) originated not from its resemblance to the cockle shell, but because it happened to be used for extracting cockles. He says:

> "Sum cochleis habilis sed non minus utilis ovis.
> Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer?"

which may be freely translated—"I am handy for

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cockles, but I am equally useful for eggs. Why should I have been called a 'cockler' instead of an 'egger'?" These spoons, which bear the Hall mark of 1630, and the Maker's mark, R. I. over a mullet, also were given by Mr. Bankes. There are twelve of them, and they are remarkably fine spoons. You will observe that they terminate in busts of the Blessed Virgin Mary. They were commonly called Maidenhead spoons, which are mentioned certainly as early as the 15th century. These are the latest in date that I have seen. I have not hitherto seen any which were made so late as the year 1630. No. 6.—Here is another Wine Cup, very similar to those I have already shown you (*see* No. 4). This is a plain cup, also on a baluster stem, and it bears the Hall mark of 1637. The Maker's mark is T. C. over a rose. It is inscribed "The Gifte of Thomas Cleave, Haberdasher, for Christ's Hospital September. 1639." No. 7.—The next pieces were also presented by Mr. Cleave. They are a tall Ewer and Rose-water Dish, the latter of which is gilt. They bear the Hall marks of 1638 and 1639 respectively, and they were presented by him in December of the latter year. The Maker's mark is W. M. over a rose between two pellets. They are very fine specimens indeed. Engraved upon them are the arms of the Haberdashers' Company. I do not know why Mr. Thomas Cleave had the Haberdashers' arms engraved upon the plate which he was about to present to Christ's Hospital. Perhaps he had intended giving them to his own Company, and afterwards changed his mind, thinking this Hospital a more worthy object, and that the education of youth in

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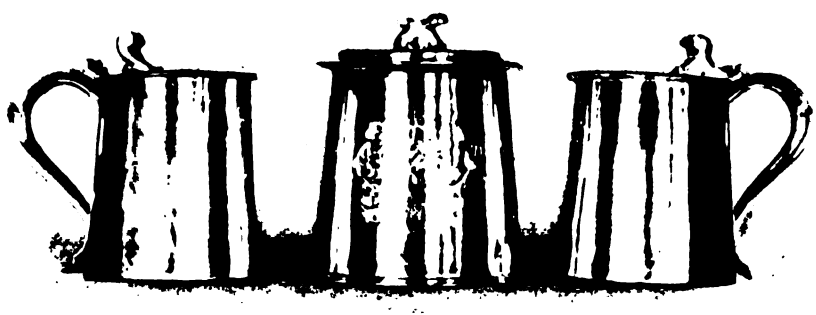
15. DREDGER AND CASTORS, 1599.



8. FLAT-TOP TANKARDS, 1640.
CHRIST'S HOSPITAL PLATE.

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letters was more worthy than instruction in the mystery of haberdashery, whatever that may be. No. 8.—These Tankards are extremely interesting, being a very early form of the flat-top tankard. They are of a rare design, and they bear the Hall mark of 1640. The Maker's mark is G. D. over a rose between three pellets. The inscription upon them is as follows:—"The gift of Rowland Willson, one of the Governors of this House, 1640." They also have the Willson arms upon them:—Argent, a wolf salient. In chief, between two mullets gules, a fleur-de-lis. No. 9.—Of the same date are some very fine specimens of Spoons, with plain cut-off ends. The Maker's mark is W. C. over a mullet. They are of early pattern, dating as far back as the early Tudor period, and you will find them mentioned in inventories of that period, under the quaint description of spoons "slipped in lez stalkes." These were not a benefaction, but were purchased by the Governors in 1640, and they bear the Hall mark of that year. Having seen an account of what they cost, all I can say is that it was a remarkably good investment of the purchase money. No. 10.—At the same time was purchased this small Trencher Salt, which bears the Hall mark of 1639. The Maker's mark is HB (probably Babington). Trencher salts were so called from their shape, and they were placed down the side tables at intervals, below the Master's salt at the high table. No. 11.—I now come to some Candlesticks, which are extremely interesting. They are of very handsome design, which is worthy of being copied at the present time. They bear the very early Hall mark of 1680. They stand on square bases, and have fluted columns cabled

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in the lower half. Candlesticks like these are extremely rare. Having regard to the great antiquity of candlesticks, it is singular that very few in silver are known to exist now. I know of none earlier than Charles II, and I could count on the fingers of one hand those of that period. These candlesticks are the earliest I have ever seen. I have seen some which purported to be genuine, but they were not. A Latin inscription records that they were given by John Johnson, out of love and affection for the Hospital, in 1681. No. 12.—This is a silver gilt two-handled Posset Cup or Porringer and Cover, and you see it is quite plain, with the exception of a decoration of leaves, in cut cardwork, as it would be technically termed, round the base and the cover, which has a gadroon border. The Hall mark is of 1687, and the Maker's mark is S under a crown. It is engraved with the arms of the Hospital, and the inscription records that it was presented by Mr. James St. Amand, Armourer, and on the back is the date 1756. Rather an odd thing comes to light in connection with this porringer. The arms on the cup are not the arms of the St. Amand family at all, but were borne by a Mr. Samon. It would appear that Mr. Samon was like some other people we have heard of, not content with the patronymic he was born into, and changed his name for one that looked or sounded better. But apparently he forgot to assume the proper coat of arms. However, Mr. James St. Amand was a liberal benefactor, and gave not only this porringer, but also Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16. No. 13.—This is a silver gilt Salver, on a plain circular foot. It bears the Hall mark of 1686, and the Maker's mark is the same as

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that on No. 12. It is like a church paten, a form which is not to be found much in secular use. No. 14.—These Candlesticks were also presented by Mr. St. Amand. They are on short baluster stems, with square bases and cut off corners. They are not remarkable, but are very good of their sort, and bear the Hall mark of 1697. They were made by Anthony Nelme, in Ave Maria Lane. You will observe that this is the first time that I have been able to tell you the maker's name, and I will just digress for one moment to tell you how it is. Unfortunately, the record of the names of the goldsmiths and silversmiths which were entered at Goldsmiths' Hall prior to the year 1696 were destroyed by fire, and all we have left is their marks or initials, so that we have to guess, as well as we can, who the maker was. But from 1696 the books are complete, and we know the names of the makers, and are able to tell the very date in which the names first appeared on the Goldsmiths' records. No. 15.—These were also given by Mr. St. Amand. They are very fine examples—a tall Dredger and two smaller Castors, a set of three. They bear the Hall mark of 1699, and were made by Anthony Nelme. In the reign of William III these castors had not long been in vogue, and consequently but few of that date are now in existence. No. 16.—These are two small Salts, which are not so fine compared with the other beautiful things. They bear the Hall mark of 1709, and were made by a man named Thomas Ash, who worked in Steyning Lane. No. 17.—This large gilt Ewer was made by a man whose name is probably known to many of you, Paul Storr, in 1810. The

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firm for which he worked was Rundell & Bridge, about 1780, and it afterwards became Storr & Mortimer, and now it is Hunt & Roskell, a very well-known firm indeed. This is a remarkable piece of work, profusely decorated with incongruous ornamentation in the vogue of the period. This was very much approved then, but it would not suit the more refined tastes of the present day. No. 18.—This is the only foreign piece in the collection. It was made in Nuremburg, and is of a fashion much followed 300 years ago. I should like to put its contemporary, a piece I showed you just now (No. 3) by the side of this one, because I think you will be able to see that notwithstanding the difference in detail, both seem to spring from a common ancestor. The designer of each was probably a German. In Elizabethan times our silversmiths were largely indebted to German artificers for their designs. The other pieces—the two large cups and the rose-water dish that you see here—are not antique, but are modern, made about 1840 or 1850, and therefore do not require any explanation from me, as you can all see for yourselves what they are.

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19, 20, 21. MODERN CUPS AND EWER.
CHRIST'S HOSPITAL PLATE.

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THE OLD PARISH CHURCH AT HARMONDSWORTH, MIDDLESEX,

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at Harmondsworth, Middlesex, on Saturday, the 6th October, 1900,

BY

THE REV. JOHN CHARLES TAYLOR, M.A., Vicar.

THE Parish Church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is one of the most ancient in Middlesex, and, in some respects, one of the most interesting in the kingdom. The original design of the structure is obscure by reason of the alterations which have been made at different periods. Probably the earliest portion of the Church is the lower part of the existing square tower, the north wall of which ranges with what is now the south side of the nave, in which are specimens of the earliest first-pointed arches where the piers are circular with square caps and bases and arches rudely chamfered, their irregular span and other characters indicating that they have been inserted in this wall, which may date from the beginning of the eleventh century. Another token of the great antiquity of the Church, as well as its early alteration in plan, is afforded by the elaborate Romanesque doorway now in the outer wall of the south aisle; but as this wall abuts on the centre of the east wall of the tower it could not have formed part of the original structure, which, in all probability, was a nave, without aisles, of the same width as the tower, which stood

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at its west end. From a cursory glance at the semicircular head of the doorway, it will appear that in its original position it was of larger span, and since a very similar ornamentation of sculptured eagles' beaks occurs on the old western entrance of Iffley Church in Oxfordshire, we may safely conjecture that this doorway originally stood on the west side of the tower.

In the twelfth century, arches and circular piers were inserted in the north and south walls of the original building, and aisles were added, as was then the custom. At the end of this century a considerable change in arrangement was made, and, for some reason, the bulk of the Church was removed northwards, and a transitional Norman edifice, consisting of a nave and north and south aisles of three bays, and a chancel, was constructed; of this the south arcade and the western half of the north arcade, together with the nave, are the existing parts. The wall which had ranged with the south side of the tower was removed, and the arches and piers therein inserted were erected on the north side of the present nave. If the two columns and the half-column here be carefully measured and the depth of each course and the quality of the stone (hard chalk) be observed, it will appear that they are really the fellows of the old piers on the south side of the nave, but with their caps and bases altered to the then fashion and a course of stone omitted to secure the desired height.

The south aisle is narrower than its northern neighbour—this is always the case, unless, as sometimes occurs, the south aisle has been enlarged; this does not seem to have been done here, but the windows were altered in the Perpendicular period. In

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the north aisle are some early English windows (lancets) much altered at a quite recent date, and other windows have been added.

The south wall of the present chancel formed part of the former chancel, and it must have had some good windows, perhaps with mullions, as is shown by the flat soffits of the upper part of the most western window.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century another change in the size and character of the Church occurred: the north wall of the chancel was taken down, octagonal piers and depressed four-centred arches replaced it, the roof was made to rest on the line of corbels above these arches, the present tracery was placed in the great east window and in the most western window on the south side of the chancel, and the splay was given to the sides of that window; the north aisle of the ritual choir was raised and extended eastwards to form at its eastern extremity a chantry (probably with the stone taken from the north wall of the chancel, and, perhaps, with the stone which formerly took the place of the red brick portion of the existing tower).

Apparently at this period it was intended to make the nave and chancel uniform in style; if this had been done the ritual choir would have been extended towards the west of the chancel (as was often the case in the larger churches), for a place is to be seen on one of the northern piers of the nave against which the screen would have rested, and that pier is thicker from east to west than the others, thus showing that it was intended to perform some special service.

It seems probable that the rood loft was intended

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to have rested upon its capital. The altered part terminates in the middle of the arch of the first bay, so that the eastern side of that arch is higher and more modern than the western; a most singular effect is thus produced, apparently something stopped the progress of the contemplated change, and the arch was temporarily rendered secure.

In the south wall of the chancel there is a third pointed piscina and sedilia of the third age, triple and even. There is a much altered basin or stoup for holy water at the entrance of the church, and the remains of a piscina made for the use of the north-east chantry.

In the north-east chantry and aisle there is an excellent hammer-beam roof of acute pitch and considerable richness of detail. There is no chancel arch. The font, of Purbeck marble, is probably of the twelfth century, its basin is octagonal and is supported by a central column surrounded by small pillars of the same kind.

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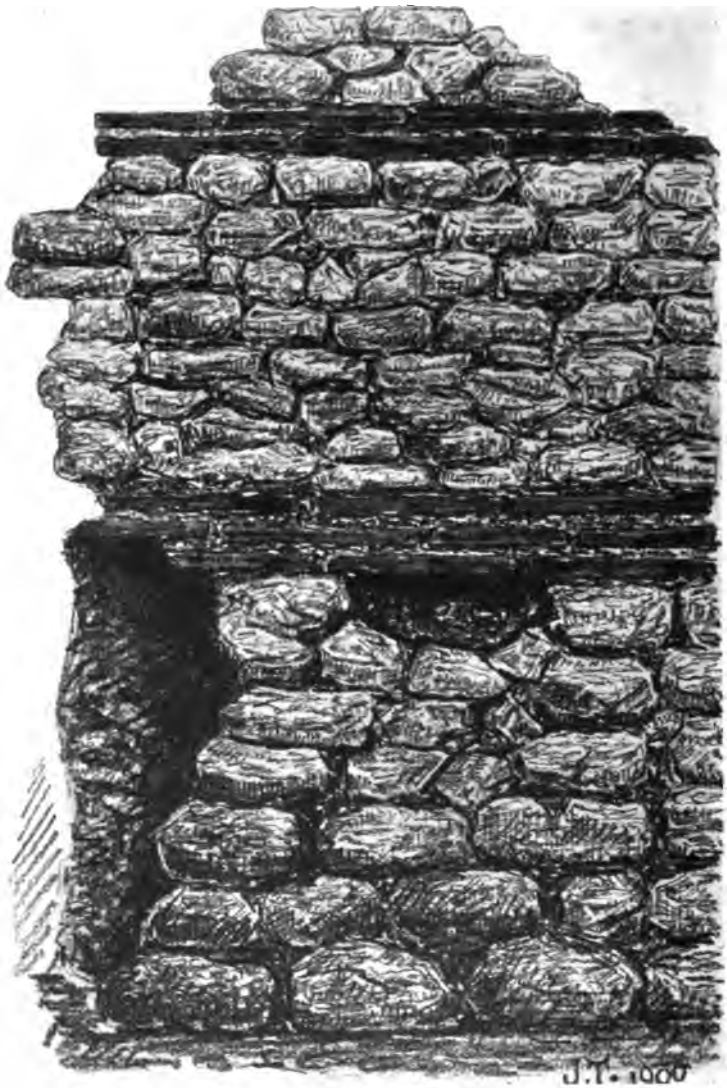

FRAGMENT OF ROMAN WALL.
Discovered in Old Bailey, 1900.

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ON A FRAGMENT OF THE ROMAN WALL DISCOVERED IN THE OLD BAILEY.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at the London Institution Finsbury Circus, on Monday, the 11th March, 1901.

BY

JOHN TERRY, Esq.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the portion of wall recently unearthed in the rear of No. 8, Old Bailey, adjoining the Sessions House, I beg to be allowed to describe the course of the wall, built *circa* 360 A.D., and which transformed Londinium into Augusta; but, unfortunately, in describing the outline of the Roman City, it is impossible to make ourselves intelligible, unless we use names subsequently adopted.

This wall enclosed about 380 acres, being 5,485 yards in length.

The portion along the river from Blackfriars to the Tower, the banks of the Thames being strengthened with piles, was finished by bastions and other defences at the angles. Near the chief gates and on the long north side there were also bastions. The wall was built of rag stone, with alternate courses of thin bricks or tiles. There were two land gates and three water gates, also a gate to the bridge. The course of the wall was as follows:—From Blackfriars it went in a northerly direction, along the slope of the hill above the Fleet River, a water gate opening on the river at Ludgate. The principal gate on this side was at Newgate, almost on the site of the mediæval

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gate, here the Watling Street emerged from the City. The wall then went in a north-easterly direction, between St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospitals, and formed an angle where Aldersgate afterwards stood, it then turned north for a short distance as far as Cripplegate Churchyard, where there was a bastion at the angle, and the foundations of this bastion still exist under the mediæval masonry. It then went easterly to Bishopsgate, the second great land gate which stood to the east of the mediæval gate; the Ermyn Street from the north and the Vicinal Way uniting at this point. Thence trending in a south-easterly direction it reached the Thames, where now stands the White Tower. A little to the west stood Billingsgate, a superior port to that on the Fleet, and further west was Dowgate, a port at the mouth of the Wall brook.

William Fitz-Stephen, writing in the reign of Henry II, hath these words:—"The wall is high and great, well towered on the north side, with due distances between the towers. On the south side also the City was walled and towered, but the fish abounding river of Thames, with his ebbing and flowing, have long since subverted them." (Stow's Survey.)

Doctor Woodward, writing on the remains found in Bishopsgate in 1707, describes the wall as follows: "The foundation of the wall lay 8 feet below the present level, and from that up to almost 10 feet in height it was composed of rag stones, with single layers of broad tiles interposed, each layer at 2 foot distance. To this height the workmanship was after the Roman manner. And these were the remains of

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the ancient wall, supposed to be that built by Constantine the Great. In this it was very observable that the mortar was (as usual in the Roman work) so very firm and hard, that the stone itself as easily brake and gave way as that. It was thus far from the foundation upwards 9 foot in thickness." (Strype's Stow.)

Mr. Craik, referring to the remains found in the Minories in 1841, writes:—"Behind the S.W. corner of America Square, the workmen came upon a wall 7½ feet thick, running a very little to the west of north, or parallel to the line of the Minories. The principal part of it consisted of five courses of squared stones, regularly laid with two layers of flat bricks below them, and two similar layers above, the latter at least carried all the way through the wall. The mortar, which appeared to be extremely hard, had a few pebbles mixed up with it, and here and there were interstices, or air cells, as if it had not been spread, but poured in among the stones."

In 1843 a portion of the old wall was unearthed in Play House Yard, Blackfriars, when a Roman monument erected to a "Speculator" of the 2nd legion named CELSUS, was discovered. On the same line of wall further north, Sir Christopher Wren, while building St. Martin's Church, Ludgate, found a similar sepulchral monument, in memory of Vivianus Marcianus, a soldier of the 2nd legion. ("Parentalia," p. 266.)

Remains of the wall on the south or the river front have from time to time been brought to light, notably at the foot of Fish Street Hill, at the end of Queen Street, and from Broken Wharf to Lambeth

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Hill, an account of which, by the late Mr. C. Roach Smith, is to be found in the *Archæological Journal*, I, p. 114.

The portion of the wall from Ludgate to the river was removed in 1276, and a new one built (to enclose a larger area) further west, for the benefit of the Black Friars.

I will now proceed to describe the fragment of the wall discovered in the Old Bailey. This piece of wall, which is 8 feet high and 8 feet 3 in. in thickness above the foundation (which is 14 in. wider), was unearthed in March, 1900, about 18 in. below the pavement level, and at a distance of 99 feet 6 in. from the centre of the roadway.

The construction is as follows:—Commencing from the base of the foundation (which is on the ballast) there is 3 feet 6 in. in height of rubble work composed of large rag stones, then three courses of tiles "sesqui pedales," viz., $17\frac{4}{10}$ in. by $11\frac{6}{10}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{10}$ in., and above these 2 feet 7 in. of rag stones of a smaller size, then two courses of tiles, followed by more rubble work. The interior of the wall is composed of rag stones, roughly tumbled in, and grouted with lime mortar of an excellent description; the whole forming a hard concrete mass. The inner face of the wall, where not mutilated, is in a good state of preservation, but the outer face (or side towards the Fleet) shows to a marked extent the action of the water of the mediæval ditch.

A very valuable and interesting analysis of the mortar, made by Mr. H. F. Hills, is given in *The Builder*, of October 20th, 1900, and this test proves

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the mortar to be chemically and physically an excellent one, the proportion of lime to sand by volume being about one to two.

The Romans are accredited with the practice in preparing their mortar, of forming pits and burying the newly mixed materials for a lengthened period, which probably, and not unreasonably, may account for its strength.

In appreciating the works of the ancients, it must be borne in mind, as in other things, that we have the survival of the fittest, and that the bad work (if they produced any) has disappeared in the process of time.

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ON A BASTION OF THE WALL OF LONDON IN CRIPPLEGATE CHURCHYARD.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, on Monday, the 11th March, 1901.

BY

JOHN TERRY, Esq.

THE Corporation of London having decided to repair this remaining bastion of the mediæval wall, the work of restoration was carried out under my personal supervision.

The wall had, at various periods, undergone a great amount of repairing; but, unfortunately, of a very injudicious character, large pieces of brickwork, interspersed with flints, tiles, and broken bits of slate, having been introduced, and as the face of the wall was originally built of rag stone, the bad taste of these earlier repairs was only too manifest.

The decayed brickwork having been removed, rag stone was very carefully built in to match the old work. In cutting out the decayed portions of the outer face of the wall, a miscellaneous collection of old and broken stones was brought to light, a portion of the head of a Gothic window and several pieces of grave stones having dates of the 17th and 18th centuries being discovered in the interior of the wall, clearly showing that any old stone was used that happened to be near at hand.

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BASTION, CRIPPLEGATE CHURCHYARD.

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As it was thought desirable to ascertain the condition of the wall below the ground level, an excavation was made down to the foundation, viz., 18 feet below the present level of the Churchyard.

The foundations (which are on the ballast) and, indeed, the lower portion of the wall to the height of about 4 feet, are in a good state of preservation, and judging by the appearance of the materials used, particularly the mortar, this portion is probably Roman work.

Above this height the work was of a different character, several kinds of stone had been used, intermixed with pieces of Roman tiles and flints, and in some instances the stones had been wedged up with several layers of oyster shells, the mortar being of an inferior quality to that found at a lower level, and there is not the slightest indication of this portion of the bastion being the work of the Romans, although full of their materials.

The chief characteristics of the wall are as follows:—The total height is 31 feet, being 18 feet below ground level and 13 feet above, the thickness of the top portion of the wall above the supposed level of the rampart is 3 feet, and 8 feet at the level of the ground. It is composed of an outer rubble face of rag stones, varying in size; and an interior of chalk, flints, sand stones, etc., grouted in with lime mortar of a vastly inferior quality to the Roman mortar.

This bastion being at an angle of the wall would, no doubt, in troublesome times be subject to many a fierce assault, and the repairs, probably, had to be

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hastily done, this perhaps in some measure accounting for inferior work.

At the base of the foundation a rather curious discovery was made in the shape of an old red brick tunnel or drain, built in Roman cement, and splendidly constructed. It varied in height from 4 feet to 6 feet and was 2 feet 6 in. wide, and at intervals chambers had been formed to a height of 12 feet to 14 feet, covered over with large flat stones, these chambers or shafts were the same width (2 feet 6 in.) as the drain, and 4 feet to 6 feet in length. This drain or tunnel was examined for 200 feet in an easterly direction towards the site of Cripple Gate, where it had been broken up for the foundations of houses. Following the line of the bastion for a short distance towards the south, it was found to be bricked up; there were several branch drains into it, varying in height from 3 feet 6 in. to 6 feet. The main portion followed the line of the old City wall, and in what must have (at one time) been the ditch. There was not the slightest indication of any sewage having flowed in it—it was perfectly clean, excepting where the invert had given way, these cavities being filled with water.

I am inclined to think it was constructed for the purpose of *draining*, as the bottom was circular in formation, and was probably built in 1648, to take the water of the ditch, when the latter was filled in. Had it been built for any other purpose, I think the floor would have been *flat*.

In support of my supposition I quote the following:—

"More Dich from Bishopsgate to More Gate was arched over with a great number of brickworks,

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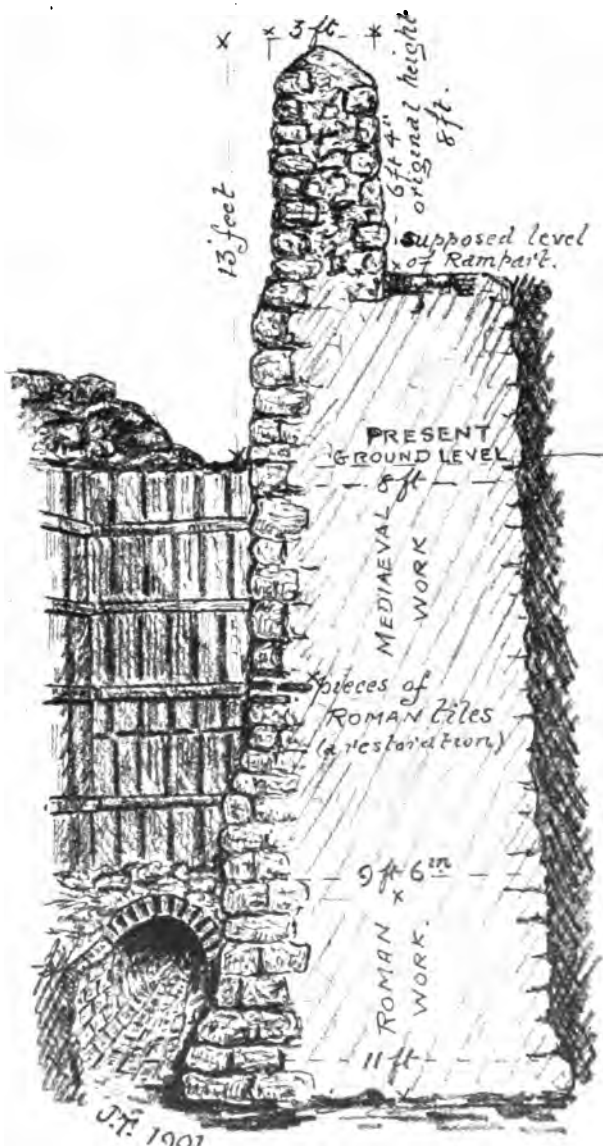

Section of Bastion.
shewing position of drain

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and then filled up and made plaine ground over it in the yeare 1638 and soe left.

"But the rest of the dich from Morgate to Creppelgate was arched over, as the other in 1648, and let by the Citty at great rates, but long leases of the ground, And one condition that they shall build such houses, as they have appointed them, and in such time, their are many faire houses built their already this yeare 1658."—"Notes on London Churches, etc., 1631, 1658." Harrison's "England," Vol. II, p. 211.

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ENQUIRY AS TO THE NAME OF ST. MARY AXE.

BY

STEPHEN DARBY, ESQ.

WE learn from Stow's Annals that "In St. Marie Street (now St. Mary Axe) had ye of old time a parish Church of St. Marie the Virgin, St. Ursula and the eleven thousand Virgins; which church was commonly called St. Marie at the Axe, of the sign of an axe over against the east end thereof." This is somewhat vague, but in "London past and present" Mr. Wheatley tells us that "Stow is not quite correct in this. The Church derived its particular designation of St. Mary Axe from a holy relic it possessed—'an Axe oon of the iij that the xi$^{mill.}$ virgines wer be hedyd w^{t}.'" Is it not just possible that so far from the axe having given the name to the church—the name itself had first suggested the holy relic? Take, for instance, the name of the town of Maidenhead. In the sixth volume of Nicholls' "Collectanea Topographica et Geneologica," the Rev. Mr. Gorham, in his "Account of the foundation of Chapel, Chauntry and Guild of Maidenhead in the County of Berks" says: "There is a silly tradition that the name of this town was derived from the Head of a Maiden, a British Virgin, who, it is said, was held in great veneration in this place and who was one of the

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11,000 belonging to the Company of St. Ursula, murdered in Cologne on their return from Rome. This notion is mentioned so far back as 1538 by the justly celebrated antiquary Leland. He reports that the town 'toke the name of Maidenhead of a Hedd that they say was one of the xi thousand Virgines to which the offering there was made in a Chapell.' Leland's testimony as to this custom rests merely on vulgar and probably ignorant report; certainly not on personal observation, for the popish services of Maidenhead Chapel were discontinued in 1535, three years before Leland visited the place. If, however, any such custom ever obtained in Maidenhead, it assuredly was not the occasion of the name of the town, but must have originated in a foolish play upon the name which had previously obtained currency; for, it is certain, from Antient Records, that the appellation Maydenhuth, or Maydenheth or Maydenhythe were in use during the 14th and 15th Centuries, while the corruption Maidenhead was altogether unknown until the time of Henry viij."

May it not be quite as likely that the name of St. Mary Axe has as little connection with the holy Relic as has that of the Town of Maidenhead with the memory of the holy Virgin whose decapitation was said to have been effected by it?

On the other hand—looked at from a different point of view—is there not a significance in the words themselves connecting them with the Church of St. Mary, or its altar? Or possibly some older church and shrine on the same spot? "Atte Axe" transposed gives "Axe Atte," words as yet common with the *old people* in Berkshire, to whom "ask" is a

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foreign word, and "ax" the common mode of expression for an enquiry or request.

Now we have the Anglo-Saxon word "æt" or "at," "of," and "acsian," "to ask," also the old English "atte," "at" and "axen," "to ask," *i.e.*, to offer up a petition "atte" (St. Mary's shrine or to St. Mary).

In his most interesting paper—"The last ten years of the Priory of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate" (in the second volume of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society's Transactions) the Rev. Thomas Hugo refers to two documents, the first being of the period of Henry III, viz.: A licence to the Nuns to stop up a lane or passage known as "Seinte Eleyn Lane," the second, of the period of Edward I, in which the right of their having done so is disputed. I find the roadway in question is described in the first deed merely as "that Lane in London which is between the land of the same Prioress and Nuns at either End"; whilst in the second it gives it as "it extended itself in length from Bisshopesgate Streete to the highway of St. Mary attenax and containing on the east end 18 feet and more (extendebat se in longitudine a Bishopesgatestrate usq̃ ad viam regiã Scẽ Marie atte Nax.) And again it is called a highway "from the gate of St. Helens to the street of St. Mary attenax (in reg̃ via et extendebat se in longitudine a Bisshopesgatestrete usq̃ ad viã Reg̃ Scẽ Marie attenax").

Now this term "Nax" seems to do away with any reference to an axe as a chopping implement, and equally so to "axe" as used in a petition, but Stow says the Church of St. Mary was also known as "St. Marie Pelliper of a plot of ground lying on the

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north side thereof, pertaining to the Skinners," and the idea intrudes itself whether "Nax" may not be "nacs," and an abbreviation of "nacnes," the old English word for "strips," and Skinners would be strippers.

On this question I appealed to the Rev. Prebendary Earle of Oxford, who very kindly gave it his consideration. Whilst he could not entertain the idea of "nax" being a corruption of "nacnes," he explained that Attenaxe might be written At-ten-axe; and he approved of the suggestion of "axe" as a petitioning. He remarked: "This connection strikes me as not impossible, there was A.S. æsce = enquiry, and æsc-stede = place of enquiry, which by metathesis would become ax. If there is anything in this it suggests an old heathen seat of divination, an oracle, which was superseded by a Christian Church." Professor Earle was also good enough to add: "It is the only suggestion I ever met with that I could entertain" (*i.e.*, as to the origin of the name St. Mary Axe). He would not hazard a positive opinion, but thought it well worth the consideration of those who had made this subject their special study.

There is not, of course, a trace, nor, so far as I can learn, any tradition of a heathen shrine where the Church of St. Mary once stood; but the proximity of this site to the Ermine Street and the old Roman Northern Gate, the foundations of which have been unearthed in Camomile Street (Loftie's London), would lead one to regard this as by no means improbable.

Besides what Stow gives us, we have but little record of the Church of St. Mary Axe. In "London past and present" Mr. Wheatley tells us that this

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Church, "Sancta Maria de haegs," was given in 1562 to the Spanish protestant refugees for divine service." This was the year in which the parish was united to that of St. Andrew Undershaft. By the kindness of my friend, Mr. Arthur Rivington, the present Vestry Clerk of these United Parishes, I have examined the deed in which Queen Elizabeth confirms the Act of the Bishop of London uniting the two parishes. The reasons of this union appears to have been the inability of St. Mary's parish, owing to its poverty, to maintain its Rector, and the sufficiency of space in the new church of St. Andrew Undershaft to accommodate, for divine worship, the inhabitants of both parishes.

In Nicholls' "Collectanea Topographica," Vol. V, are the names of Pilgrims from England to Rome entertained at the English College at Rome; at page 72 occurs the following: "1506-7 Mes Junii Domin^{9} Johannes Evans Rector Scẽ Marie de Ax London: venit 12 Junii," giving the name of the Rector at this date.

Amongst the parish documents of St. Andrew Undershaft there is a record that in A.D. 1634, a permission was obtained from the Bishop for the Rector and Churchwarden of St. Andrew Undershafte to repair the lower part of the Church of St. Mary atte Axe, which had been used for secular purposes and fallen into decay, by tiling the floor and building a room over it; together with an upper room, which upper room was to be utilised for the purposes of a grammar school. The lower room was let for a warehouse, of which in the year 1697 Jeffry Jefferies, Esq., was the tenant, and paid £8 a year.

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Is it merely an accident that the parishes of St. Andrew Undershafte and St. Mary the Virgin are involved in the legend of St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins, whilst Maidenhead Chapel, dedicated to St. Andrew and St. Mary Magdalene are also associated with the same legend?

In conclusion, I venture to hope that this suggestion as to the origin of the name St. Mary Axe, may be of sufficient interest to some of those competent to deal with the question, to induce them, as Professor Earle has said, to give it their consideration.

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ANGLO-SAXON LONDON AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SECOND PAPER.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society at the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, on Monday, 11th March, 1901.

BY

T. W. SHORE, Esq, F.G.S.,

Honorary Secretary.

Hon. Organising Secretary of the Hampshire Archæological Society.

IN my former paper I drew the attention of the Society to several phases of life in and around London in the time of the Saxons, and to the evidence which points to the Anglo-Saxon Settlement in and around this city having been that of Goths and Frisians, the people who, under the name of Jutes, were the original settlers in Kent. No period of our history is so little known as the Saxon, yet none is so important in regard to the origin of many of those customs, customary laws and usages, which have survived in an altered form until our own time. In a great city changes follow each other from age to age more rapidly than in country places, but we can trace in London and in Middlesex many survivals of Anglo-Saxon customs and social life, some of which still exist, and others have become extinct only within comparatively modern time. It is to the Anglo-Saxon period also that the origin of the English race is

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traced, and that origin is of as much interest to the newer English speaking nations as to ourselves. London played an important part in regard to the consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon tribes and kingdoms into one nation, probably a more important part than has hitherto been assigned to it.

The question what was the size of Anglo-Saxon London in reference to population and area constantly arises, and although it is not possible to answer this absolutely, yet relatively some considerations which are of considerable interest can be stated. First, London in the Saxon period was the largest English city, and we read of exceptional circumstances and special laws in reference to it at various times. The reference I made in my former paper to the payment of 10½ thousand pounds by London while the remainder of the country paid 72 thousand pounds, in the time of Cnut, as a redemption tax on the conquest of the kingdom by the Danes, shows that relatively it was far and away the largest of English cities—by far the richest—and that its wealthy merchants had to pay very heavily in this great tax. That they were able to pay this large sum shows that it must have been the seat of the greatest commerce in the country, otherwise its wealth could not have been created. The more we consider the subject of the relative position of London to the country in Saxon time, in comparison with that it occupies in our own time, the more clearly we see a close parallel. The special laws relating to Saxon London which we may assume to have been necessary even at that early period, date from the time of Athelstan, the first half of the 10th century, nearly 1,000 years ago.

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When we turn from these early laws to military matters, we find similar evidence of the greatness of the city. A special corps of Londoners is stated to have formed part of Athelstan's army at the battle of Brunanburgh in A.D. 937.* The peculiar connection of London and Middlesex also lead us to the same conclusion. Anglo-Saxon London appears to have been included in Middlesex, but it was so great, that its greatness overshadowed the importance of the province or shire itself, in which it was situated.

When we consider also the special privilege of its citizens in reference to the chase, we are again led to the same conclusion. There must have been a large number of wealthy men in Saxon London to have availed themselves of these hunting privileges. It is certain that such a franchise could have been of little use to the poor; by the rich freemen of the city and the well-to-do citizens generally it was no doubt much valued. We cannot but assume that this hunting franchise arose in Saxon time. It is not mentioned in the early Saxon period, but the record, the Laws of Cnut, in which we are told that all men could have their hunting provided they did not encroach on the hunting of the king, we may perhaps regard as evidence, that the hunting privilege of London was included.

It is certain that the hunting franchise of London was of older date than the Norman Conquest. Such a King as William the Conqueror, who so jealously guarded his forests, and afforested a whole district for his own sport in the south-west of Hampshire, would

* Ingulph's Chronicle.

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be extremely unlikely to confer extensive hunting rights on the citizens of London.

This free chase franchise of Anglo-Saxon London brings us back again to the considerations of the forests round it. The citizens' hunting ground on the north comprised the whole of Middlesex and the Chiltern district, which covered what is now part of Buchinghamshire, part even of Oxfordshire and Hertfordshire. Their hunting ground on the south also included a great part of Surrey, and part of Kent as far as the river Cray. It did not include any part of Essex, and there was a reason for this, for although Essex contained the greatest forest near London, it was a royal forest. Their franchise did not comprise any part of Berkshire, for the forest there was part of Windsor forest, another royal hunting ground, nor presumably the north-western part of Surrey, for that also was part of Windsor forest. When we consider the extent of the royal forests of Essex and Windsor, the warning of Cnut that people who had hunting rights must keep out of his preserves, becomes of significance in reference to the antiquity of the hunting rights of Anglo-Saxon London.

It appears at first thought a little strange to go to St. Paul's for evidence of the forest condition of Middlesex and Essex during the Saxon period. St. Paul's, however, is a very old ecclesiastical foundation, and its endowment dates from early Saxon time. The old names of its prebends supplies us with corroborative evidence of the wooded state of some of its lands at an early period of its history. These old names survived, long after they had by lapse of time become inaccurate as descriptive names. Among these old

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prebendal names are Browneswood, Chamberlainwood, and the forest "den" names, such as Harlesden and Neasden in the old district of Willesden, as well as that "dean" or "den" of Willesden itself. The prebendal name of Oxgate in Willesden probably denotes some early enclosure in the ancient forest, and the name Mora Prebend, the land of which was situated in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, is one which probably denotes part of the ancient moor or marshland close to the city. These old names point to the existence of a great woodland area near London. The heaths were also very extensive, as shown by the surviving names Cambridge Heath, Hampstead Heath, Houndslow Heath, and others. Such names also, as Wormwood Scrubs and Shepherd's Bush, point to the existence close to London of heaths, partly covered with bush.

In my former paper I drew attention to the necessity of forests to supply fuel to cities in the Anglo-Saxon period. A city could not exist without an adequate supply of wood. The question arises: Whence came the wood which was required for fuel in Saxon London? It is certain that so large a city could not have been entirely supplied with fuel from so comparatively small a forest area as that which is known to have existed in Middlesex, large as that was when considered only in reference to the acreage of the county, but adjoining this county there were other extensive wooded districts. We are led to the conclusion, from these considerations, that there must have been, in Saxon London, a great trade in fire wood, just as in modern time there is an immense trade in coal. The greatest forest area in adjoining counties was

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that of Essex. In the Doomsday record we read of woods in Middlesex alone that afforded pannage in the aggregate for 17,000 swine, but the same record tells us of woods in Essex at that date for 90,900 swine.

In Hertfordshire, woods are mentioned sufficient for 30,700 swine. Buckinghamshire, Surrey and Kent also had extensive woods which fed swine. The total for the three counties, Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire, was 138,000.

As the Lea was a navigable stream for a considerable distance, as well as the Thames, we may feel sure that wood for fuel in the Saxon city was brought down these rivers from the forest lands in Hertfordshire, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, and perhaps parts of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Wood came, no doubt, from all parts within such a distance as it would pay to bring it.

The supply of fuel to the Saxon city must have come chiefly from woods in the hands of those who were at liberty to cut down and sell their timber. The firewood rights in the forests of the commoners who lived near them, as far back as we can trace these rights, were limited by certain regulations. If this had not been the case the common woods or forests near a great city would soon have disappeared. We are thus led to the conclusion that the supply of wood in the Saxon city must have been by sale. That there were people who had woods of their own we know from one of Alfred's laws, which says:—"If any man burn or hew another's wood without leave, let him pay for every great tree with v shillings and afterwards for each, let there be as many of them as may be, with v pence and x shillings as wite." In

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London, as far back as we can trace them, there were regulations for the sale of wood, as there were for bread and ale, and as the assize of bread and ale was a custom of Saxon origin, there is little room for doubt that the assize of wood also had its origin in the same period—Tallwood, billets, faggots, or other firewood are mentioned in the early regulations, and faggots had to be "of the full assize which the same ought to hold."

The figures which state the number of swine for whose subsistence the autumn pannage is recorded, are significant in another way. These figures not only tell us of the pigs the forests were capable of feeding in the fall of the year, but give us some idea of the large number of animals bred for food in the country round Saxon London. The city, relatively very great even in the Saxon period, must have depended for its food supplies chiefly on the country nearest to it. The royal forests were subject to common rights, not only for pigs in the autumn, but for cattle during certain other periods of the year. We know from the forest laws what these periods were. The pannage season ended on November 22nd, and from that date what was called Winter-heyning began, and lasted until May 4th. During this period, cattle were not allowed to graze on the royal forest pastures, because theoretically these pastures in the winter months were supposed to be sufficient only for the king's deer, but in practice it is probable that some cattle were permitted to remain. From May 4th until June 20th all commoners had a right to forest pastures. Then came the Fence month, from June 20th to July 20th, when the young deer had to be protected, and the

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cattle were excluded, after which, until November 22nd, the forest pastures were again open.

The Anglo-Saxon law relating to the wilful destruction of trees by fire, or causing forest fires, is found in Alfred's code and is headed "Be wuda bærnette." This is of interest as evidence of the care with which woods were preserved. It is also of interest to Middlesex archæology, for there is on the northern border of the county an ancient place-name which denotes a forest-fire, and has apparently come down to us from the Anglo-Saxon period. I refer to the name Barnet. If we substitute the diphthong "æ" for "a," this word "bærnet" is the Anglo-Saxon for combustion or burning used in Alfred's code, and is apparently a surviving trace of a fire in the woods at or near Barnet, or of the destruction of an Anglo-Saxon forest village by fire on this site. I referred in my former paper to the charcoal burners and their operations in the forests, but there were other denizens who occasionally took up their abodes in the woods. Charcoal was a necessity in Saxon time to all metal workers, and Ethelred's code of laws shows that false coiners retired to the forests for their illegal work. The words in this code which refers to them are: "And the moneyers who work within a wood or elsewhere, that they be liable in their lives unless the King will be merciful to them." It is clear that the great forests round London, where coins of all sorts were in circulation, must have been particularly attractive for the illegal work of the false coiners.

The original settlers in Middlesex were pagans, and some traces are left of their mythology. One of the derivation of the word seaxe or Saxon, itself is a

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mythological one from Sahsnôt or Seaxneat, an eponymous deity of the Saxons,* and in the genealogy of the Kings of Essex, Saxnôt is mentioned with Woden and Thunar (but not Tiu) as among their ancestors, thus showing that Saxnôt was an alternative name for Tiu, from whom the name Tuesday is derived.

Another mythological name is that of Ermine Street, for the great north road from London. Irmin in the Saxon mythology was a common god of many tribes. He was supposed to drive over the starry firmament, and the Milky Way was called Irmin Road, or the way of souls.†

In the Anglo-Saxon laws we also find traces of mythology connected with the forests, as, for example, in the Dooms of Cnut, where the king says:—"We earnestly forbid every heathenism, *i.e.*, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun, and the moon, fire, or rivers, water wells, and stones, or forest trees of any kind." ‡

London, in regard to Middlesex, had a remarkable parallelism to the city of York and its Ainsty. The county of Middlesex has been connected with London so long that this connection apparently goes back beyond the earliest historical period. Similarly, the Ainsty of York was connected with that city from the beginning of its history. The Ainsty is a hundred or wapontake, eleven miles in length by six miles broad, between the rivers Wharf and Nidd, on the west of York. The whole district was anciently a forest, but was disforested by Charters of Richard I

* Grimm, J. "Teutonic Mythology," trans. by Stallybrass, Vol. III, vii.
† "Asgard and the gods," by Dr. W. Wägner, ed. by Anson, p. 152.
‡ Cnut's Dooms, 5.

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and John. The two Sheriffs of York were sworn to office for the city and its Ainsty, as those of London were for the city and Middlesex. This parallelism between the Ainsty of York and Middlesex in relation to London is close. The connection of each district with its city is lost in antiquity. Middelseaxe is first mentioned in a Charter dated A.D. 704. Both Middlesex and the Ainsty of York were chiefly covered by forests, and both are connected in government with the city from time immemorial. Their original attachment to their cities naturally suggests the fuel question and pasture for cattle belonging to the citizens.

Even at the present time the rural parts of Middlesex consist largely of land laid out for pasturage. It has probably been so from time immemorial: first, because most of the open land in the county, being on a clay subsóil, is naturally adapted for pasture; and, secondly, because the necessity for pasture near London in the Saxon period required it. Corn, like wood, could be brought into the city; hay could be brought, but fresh grass only to a limited extent.

Fruit was grown by the Saxons near London. We read of orchards, and it is of interest to note that Middlesex in the later Saxon period had its vineyards, some of them being quite close to London. Domesday Book tells us of a vineyard in Holborn, and another belonging to the Abbey at Westminster. There was also a vineyard at Harmondsworth, which is a great fruit-growing district at the present time, and there was another at Coleham. The 26th law of Alfred's Code orders the fine or punishment of anyone who injures another man's vineyard. I cannot show you

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the site of any one of these ancient Middlesex vineyards, but in Hampshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and other counties, such sites can be identified.

The important question arises: "What kind of city was this great London in the Anglo-Saxon period?" It was not the capital or seat of government of the country. It was not even the capital of any one of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Even in the later period, just before the Norman Conquest, when Edward the Confessor removed his government from Winchester, he did not bring it to London, but to Westminster. Even in his time, London was relatively a very great city—too great, apparently, for the Saxon king to place the seat of his government actually within it. London was, in the Saxon period, the commercial centre of the country without being the capital or seat of government of either the whole or any one of the lesser kingdoms. Except for the short time when it might be supposed to have been the seat of the kings of Essex, London in Saxon time appears as a great community on the frontiers of three or more kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy. As far back as our history extends, England appears always to have had on this commercial site a relatively very large commercial city. This is a remarkable fact in our national history. To have grown and prospered as it did in the Saxon period, London must have had a local government which was suited to it. This brings us to the fact that government and law in Anglo-Saxon time was nearly all administered locally, and such being the case it becomes certain that the government of London was so administered.

That law differed greatly from the procedure in

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use in later centuries. The Hundred Court was in the country districts—the court which dealt with criminal offences, and the County Court in each shire was the highest court. There was no supreme court for the whole country, and there was no trial by jury. That was a development which arose after the Norman Conquest. The law in London appears to have been administered in the wards and in the Court of Husting, which was the highest court. Compurgation as a means of proving a man innocent or guilty was in full force. If a citizen was accused of a crime, it was possible for him to establish his innocence by his own oath and the oaths of a certain number of his fellow citizens, who were willing to become his oath-helpers or compurgators. If the accused declared on oath that he was innocent of the offence with which he was charged, and the requisite number of compurgators came forward and declared on oath that they believed him to be innocent, his acquittal followed. Doubtless cases occurred of hard swearing under this Anglo-Saxon system, which gave place later on to trial by jury, but a trace of the old system of compurgation still survives in the privilege every accused person still has of calling witnesses to his character, and in the exemption of such witnesses from cross-examination, or from their testimony being contradicted by rebutting evidence. Instances of this surviving trace of the archaic Saxon law occur almost daily in London at the present time.

One of the most notable considerations indeed in reference to Saxon London is the survival or traces of Saxon laws, customs, ecclesiastical endowments, and other remains of that period which have come

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down to our own time, or, at least, until modern time. As historical and archæological knowledge advances, we find traces of Saxon usage in many unexpected quarters. It can be traced in our shipping and commerce, in the city government, in the national monetary system, and in the great market. London has a market overt—a perpetual market. It had no market days as other towns and cities had, but transactions in its shops are and were transactions in market overt. It is not many years since the ancient privilege of market overt in the city was pleaded in a jewellery transaction, and the ancient customary law on this subject again brought before the Courts. Any purchaser of goods sold to him in a market, if such goods are those usually sold in the market, acquires a good title to the goods, whatever may have been the title of the seller. In the city of London every shop in which goods are exposed for sale is a "market overt" for sales by the shopkeeper, but not for sales to him, and the buyer acquires a good title to the articles sold to him, whatever the vendor's title to them may be.* This is not so in the Strand or Oxford Street, or elsewhere beyond the City boundaries. This is a very remarkable survival, and I think it is one which points again to the greatness of Anglo-Saxon London. Ancient markets arose either from prescriptive right or by royal charter. Many ancient markets are so old as to have become established by prescription. They were markets in Saxon times, and some are mentioned in Domesday Book. No Charter exists granting market privileges

* "Encyclopædia of the Laws of England." Vol. VIII, p. 223; case of Hargreave *v.* Spink.

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for the first time to London. Its open perpetual market has come down from the Saxon period, and this perpetual market overt was one of its peculiar and valuable privileges. It must have been a much greater commercial city than any other in England, to have been privileged in this respect beyond them all. Whence could this great privilege of a perpetual market have come, except like the ancient prescriptive country markets from the Anglo-Saxon period? Of such a prescriptive market in London we catch a glimpse indeed in the Kentish laws as far back as the seventh century.

The Charter which Henry I granted to the citizens of London within forty years after the Norman Conquest, contains many references to the old Saxon customs of the city. There must at the time that Charter was granted have been many people living in London who were living during the later Saxon period. One of the clauses in this Charter says:—"And the churches, and barons, and citizens shall and may peaceably and quietly have and hold their sokes with all their customs, so that the strangers that shall be lodged in the sokes shall give custom to none, but to him to whom the soke appertains or to his officer whom he shall there put." This passage gives us interesting information in regard to sokes, and to the strangers that were lodged in them.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many sokes existed in Saxon London. These sokes were parts of the city which were not under the common city jurisdiction. We know that St. Martin le Grand, St. Paul's, and the Knighten Guild at Portsoken had

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sokes or liberties, with certain administrative power within them. Anglo-Saxon London was evidently not one community, but a collection of communities lying close together, having no doubt some duties in common, such as the common defence, but having separate administrations. The sokes help us to realise how London grew.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Martin's le Grand possessed privileges for the administration of their own part of the city, almost as important as the privileges of the city itself.

Similarly, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's had their own soke. The Knights of Portsoken certainly had their own soke. The Foreign Abbey of Gant or Ghent also had possessions in the city, with certain liberties before the close of the Saxon period.

The mercantile privileges of the Men of the Emperor also appear to have existed in the time of the Saxons. These later on became identified with the commercial privileges of the Merchants of the Steelyard. In A.D. 967 King Ethelred ordered that the Emperor's Men or Easterlings coming with their ships to Belingsgate shall be accounted worthy of good laws. The name Easterlings was the designation of the people of countries on the Baltic, and would include the traders from Gotland. It was at Billingsgate that ships paid their toll, as we learn from "Ethelred's Laws."

The centres of local government throughout the country were the local courts to which the tythings or townships sent their tythingman, often known in later time as an alderman, or other chief officer. As long as anything is positively known of the

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government of London, there appear to have been divisions, called wards, and an alderman connected with each ward. In the country some of these rural aldermen of tythings are still elected. In London the divisions of the city or wards in Saxon time must have been subject to the chief court, as the tythings in the country under a tythingman or rural alderman were subject to the Hundred Court.

The Laws of Athelstan relating to London are *prima facie* evidence of the existence of courts for their administration, and the lawcourts in Anglo-Saxon time were the assembly of the freemen of the hundred or borough or county. These laws of Athelstan were not administered by the king and his deputies or judges, but by the assembly of the freemen of the city. They could not have been new, but only customary laws reduced to writing in Athelstan's time, modified no doubt as circumstances required. There must have been customary laws in London as in every other part of the country, and these customary laws, out of which the common law of the country grew, were different in different places. There are old customs even now all over the country, which are recognised locally in our common law, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity.

During the later Saxon period London was situated between the parts of the country where three systems of law were in force, and at the same time it had special laws of its own, a fact which alone is evidence of its importance. These three legal codes were those of Wessex, Mercia and the Danelagh. The only city near which these three legal divisions of the country met was London. England, south of

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the Thames, was under West Saxon or Kentish law, while that north of the river was under Mercian law or Danish law. In Alfred's time the three divisions met at London, the treaty between that king and Guthrum the Danish king specifying the river Lea as the boundary near London. Later on Danish law is said to have prevailed in fifteen of the then existing counties, and these made a great area known as Fiftonshire, which included Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire.* London during the later period was also the meeting place of the "Danelagh" and the West Saxon or English law, and the Danelagh did not pass into the common law of England until the successors of the Norman Conqueror had united into a whole these varied legal codes.†

In my former paper, I referred to the island of Gotland and its chief town Wisby, and to the connection of that port with the trade of Saxon London. As the chief emporium of trade in northern Europe at that time, the Gotland merchants traded to all commercial ports, and the great number of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Gotland is evidence of its early trade with England. We meet with some evidence relating to the maritime customs or usages of Wisby, and the probable adoption of some of these usages in England. The earliest maritime code of which anything is known in northern Europe is the Wisby Town Law on Shipping, a copy of which, in a

* Cottonian Liber Custumarium in "Liber Albus," II, part ii, 625.

† Worsaac, J. J. "Danes and Norwegians in England," etc. 152.

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hand of the fourteenth century, is preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm, and came from Gotland.

There is a very curious survival which can be traced between the old maritime customs of the old Frisian ports of Enchuysen and Stavern, also Amsterdam and those of Wisby on the one hand, and of the English custom on the other. The time allowed for a chartered vessel to lie up in port according to the old custom of Flanders and also of France was fifteen days, whereas the corresponding interval allowed for "lay days" in the usages of the old Frisian ports and also according to the law of Wisby was fourteen days, which agrees exactly with the fortnight of English usage.* This coincidence points to the early trade of London with Wisby and Frisian ports.

We can trace in the customs and laws of London which have come down to us in the "Liber Albus," some interesting survivals in favour of foreigners which certainly had their origin in the Anglo-Saxon period. We are told that the men of the Emperor may lodge within the city wherever they please, with this proviso or exception, that those of Tiesle (Thiel) and of Brune, and of Anwers, shall not pass London Bridge if they do not wish to be ruled by the law of London. We read of the men of the Emperor trading to London as early as Ethelred's time, so that this record of them appears to be that of a privilege they enjoyed before the Norman Conquest.†

The government of Cnut and his Danish successors left in London some survivals, which were in force in

* Twiss, Sir Travers. "The Black Book of the Admiralty." Appendix, Part III. Indroduction, xix.

† "Liber Albus," II, i, 63, and II, ii, 531.

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the Middle Ages, in reference to the privileges Danes and Norwegians enjoyed in London. We are told that the Danes had "Botsate" or "liberty of sojourn in the city all the year round, and even more than this, they had the law of the city of London to go throughout all England to fair or market,"* as the citizens had, a very valuable trading privilege, which was only likely to have been granted when London owed allegiance to a Danish king. Similarly the Norwegians had "Botsate" in the city, without the privilege of going to fairs or markets elsewhere.†

The commerce of Saxon London presented one feature which is revolting to our modern views, viz., the slave trade. It is difficult for us to realize that one of the chief medium of exchange among the Saxons was that of slaves, especially in the early period. Later on, edicts were issued against it by both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but it certainly prevailed during the whole Anglo-Saxon period. The case of the young Angles who were sold as slaves and taken to Rome is well known, and as early as A.D. 679 we read of Frisian merchants buying a slave in London. There was certainly a trade by which slaves were sold to foreign countries carried on from the Anglo-Saxon ports of London and Bristol, and probably from other ports, as well as home slavery on a somewhat large scale. It was this home slavery, as part of the political system, which led to the exportation of slaves occasionally during the whole Saxon period, and sometimes more continuously. A father, if very poor, had the right of selling his children for seven years even so late as the Norman Conquest,

* "Liber Albus," II, i, 63. † *Ibid.*, II, ii, 531.

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although in the early days of Christianity, by the exertion of the clergy, a restriction involving the consent of the child was brought about. This was apparently a kind of servitude for food and necessaries for a period of years.*

In connection with the commerce of Saxon London, the question naturally arises: What was its medium of exchange? The money which was in circulation or used as a medium of exchange in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, or the latter part of this period, was the West Saxon, the Mercian, and the Danish. Money of these three currencies must have been in constant circulation and exchange in London, in addition to the money of the foreign merchants. The pound of Wessex consisted of 48 shillings, and the shilling of 5 pence. The pound of Mercia consisted of 60 shillings, and the shilling of 4 pence. In addition, the Mercians had another coin known as the thrysma, which was of the value of 3 pence. The Danish standard coin was the ora, which at first was of the value of 16 pence, and later on was equivalent to 20 pence, a rise in value which may perhaps be ascribed to the time of Cnut. There was another Danish coin called the mark, first mentioned in the time of King Alfred, also a silver coin known as the mancus, of the value of 30 pence, in circulation. The silver penny, derived probably from the Roman denarius, was the standard coin in England for 1,000 years, and it will be seen that 240 of them made up the pound in Mercian money and in West Saxon money. The Mercian shilling, in regard to its relative value, survived in the groat or

* Newman, P. H. "Social England," I, 212.

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fourpenny bit, until our own time. We may, perhaps, also consider our threepenny bit as a modern representative in value of the Mercian thrysma. The shilling of Wessex thus finally gave place to the shilling of Mercia, which we have but lately lost, but this fourpenny silver coin or Mercian shilling is still, I believe, the value set on the services of a coroner's juryman in the City of London, a custom which must be of remote origin. The Danish mark was an important coin in the trade of Saxon London. We first hear of it in A.D. 878 in the treaty of peace between King Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish king. The silver mark, early in the tenth century, was of the value of one hundred pennies, but later on it was two-thirds of a pound, and as such its relative value survived for many centuries, if, indeed, its value is even yet extinct in reference to certain old payments, such as legal fines. It certainly existed as a denomination for payments of that kind till the nineteenth century. In the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish law breakers in East Anglia had to pay their fines in marks and oras according to Danish law, while the English paid in pounds and shillings. Guthrum's kingdom was bounded by the Lea, and so its frontier was close to London. Later on Middlesex was within the Danelagh, and the laws of Ethelred and the special trading privileges which the Danes possessed in London make it certain that the Danish marks and oras were coins current in London during the later Saxon period. The silver penny of the Anglo-Saxons still survives in name in our troy weight, and 240 of them made a pound troy of silver. The influence of the Danes in the early history of

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London has, I think, been under-estimated; for example, in Ethelred's Laws for London, oras and marks alone are mentioned, as if they were the only current coins of the city.

The Danish rule in England has left other survivals which can still be traced in London. Southwark appears to have been at one time a Scandinavian fortified site during the Danish inroads, and its name may be of Scandinavian origin. Opposite to it is Billingsgate, and Billingsdal, Billingsfors, Billingenlake and Billingen are names in use in the Scandinavian peninsula at the present day. The church dedication to St. Magnus, close to London Bridge, is another survival from the time when St. Magnus the Martyr was greatly honoured by the ancient Scandinavians. The dedication to St. Olave was the Scandinavian St. Olaf, and there was an ancient church with this dedication in Southwark, another in the Jewry, another in Hart Street, and another in Silver Street, in Aldersgate Ward. A Danish settlement near the city appears to have been outside Bishopsgate, and to have been the origin of Bishopsgate Without. Another extra mural settlement apparently gave its name to St. Clement Danes, but the existence of four ancient church dedications to Danish saints in the city points to a considerable Danish population within the city itself, and we know that Danes enjoyed the full rights of citizenship.

In my former paper I drew attention to the influence which London must have had in the formation of the Anglo-Saxon language out of the dialects spoken by the original settlers. We may assume that these dialects were mutually intelligible between the

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various tribes, but it was by intercommunication between the settlers of different tribes and races that the dialects became a language, and London, above all towns in England, was their meeting place. We may also view this influence of Saxon London from its literary aspect. The Anglo-Saxons acquired the art of writing after their settlement here, and from two sources, viz., partly from the Roman missionaries of their own time, and partly from Irish missionaries, who had acquired their knowledge of letters from the time of the Empire through the Romanised Britons. Some of the letters of the Irish alphabet differed from those used by the Roman missionaries of the Saxon period. Hence we find that the Anglo-Saxon writing exhibits a combination of two calligraphic schools, the later Roman and the Irish. The Roman prevailed in Kent and Wessex; the Irish in Mercia and Northumbria. Of the southern, St. Augustine's Psalter and Gospels are written in characters derived directly from Anglo-Saxon missionaries. Of the northern, St. Cuthbert's Gospel at Durham and St. Chad's at Lichfield are written in letters of the Irish school, derived from the Romanised Britons. In this contest between the two styles of letters the southern prevailed. As London was situated on the confines of the kingdoms, the northern school of writing here came into contact with the southern, and this contact, with other potent influences, gradually led to the general use of the Roman characters as used in Wessex. Thus, while Mercia prevailed in the survival of the shilling, Wessex prevailed in the survival of certain letters of the alphabet.

Among the names of places in the neighbourhood

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of Saxon London was the curious name of Ceockanege. This name in its later form, Cockney, is commonly regarded as of somewhat modern origin, and at the earliest of mediæval date, according to a long discussion in *Notes and Queries*. The name Ceockanege, however, occurs in an early Saxon charter, relating to the lands at Battersea, which belonged to the earliest monastic foundation at Westminster. Ceockanege was apparently a river or marshy island near the mouth of the Effra, a stream which joined the Thames on the south side of the river near Vauxhall. The late Mr. W. Basevi Sanders, of Southampton, one of the Asistant Keepers of H.M. Records, was the first to draw attention to this name.* This charter, which is preserved at Westminster, was, I believe, reproduced in facsimile at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton.

Two of the most notable discoveries of relics of the Saxon period, which are so scarce, were a sword, now in the British Museum, with a Runic inscription, found in the Thames near London, and a stone now in the Guildhall Museum with a later Runic inscription, found in St. Paul's churchyard. This latter was discovered on the south side of St. Paul's in 1852,† twenty feet below the surface of the ground. The stone is 24 inches in length, 21 inches broad, and 4 inches thick. It is finely carved, in the old Norse style, and has Runic letters round its edges recording the interment of a Scandinavian in London; it was apparently a burial stone. This is the only relic of its kind which has been found in the city or in Middlesex, but there is another stone still standing in

* 40th Report of the Deputy Keeper of H.M. Records.

† Journal, Archæological Institute. Vol. X, p. 82.

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a province of Sweden which tells us of the burial in London of two ancient Scandinavians at about the first half of the 11th century. This stone is at Walleberga, in Skâne, Sweden, and its inscription in Runes of a late type says that it is the grave mark of Suin and Turgot. It was apparently set up by their relatives, and the inscription contains the words "God help their souls well," and also the words "They lie in London." * This memorial set up and inscribed in Runic letters in probably the native socken of Suin and Turgot is also a memento of Saxon London. The sword found in the Thames is of a much earlier date, and has older Runes on it, their date being assigned to the 5th century. Runes were the invention of the Northern Goths, from whom the Angles and Scandinavians learnt them. This discovery of an early Runic inscription near London is another link in the chain of evidence pointing to the share of the Goths, and people allied to them, in the settlement of the country round this city.

In conclusion, I may remind you that in my former paper I drew attention to two remarkable parallels between the early privileges of Saxon London and the early privileges of Kent, viz.: 1. The personal freedom of all the inhabitants, and 2. The custom of partible inheritance, the father's estate being divided equally between the sons. The people of Kent possessed also two other privileges incidental to the custom of gavelkind, viz., freedom from the legal remedy of distress, and the widow's right to half of her husband's property as her dower. These rights were also part of the privileges of the

* Stevens, Prof. G., "Old Northern Runic Monuments," II, 821.

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early inhabitants of London. When rents were not paid in London in the earliest recorded time, the remedy was not by distraint, but by a process known as Gavelet. The defaulter was summoned to the Husting, and there the arrears might be doubled if lawful payment were refused. The tenements were delivered by the court to be held for a year and a day, and unless the tenant satisfied the court within that time, he lost all right to them. The widow's dower in London, as in Kent, was her personal right, and could not be alienated from her, even if forfeiture occurred through felony by her husband. This is shown by Athelstan's laws relating to London. These customs, common to London and to Kent, are very remarkable, and support the view I brought forward in my former paper, that the original settlement in and round London, was made by people who were mainly of the same race as the people of Kent.

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ON CERTAIN NEGLECTED FACTS RELATING TO ENGLISH AUTHORS BURIED IN ST. SAVIOUR'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, SOUTHWARK.

A paper read at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, at St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark, 18th October, 1902.

BY

F. G. FLEAY, Esq., M.A.

I WILLINGLY respond to the request conveyed to me, that I should say a few words on the illustrious dead who are connected with those parts of English literature with which I am most conversant, and who, being buried in the noble edifice which we are visiting to-day, afford a fitting theme for a short address on this occasion. I am conscious that it is an honour to me that you should select one so little conspicuous to the public eye, when so many endowed with greater gifts of oratory would gladly have filled the position assigned to me; and I take the reason for your choice to be that you desire, not so much a momentary pleasure in listening to an eloquent encomium on the merits of great writers of old time, as a gleaning of facts, hitherto unknown or neglected, which may renew your interest in their careers, by proposing new problems for solution, or solving old ones which still offer difficulties to the student. Indeed, Mr. Shore has hinted to me that he should like me to give you something not unworthy of a place in your recorded transactions. I must therefore

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restrict myself to such topics as have not been handled or have been handled incompletely by other men. I shall say nothing of the Shakespearian actors, Sander Cooke and Robert Gough, who are buried here; nor of William Egglestone, who was married here; nor of John Rice, who was curate here; nor of Nathaniel Field and his controversy with Mr. Sutton the preacher here; nor of William Kemp, who lived hard by; nor even of Lawrence Fletcher, here buried; tempting as this theme would be on account of his connection with the Essex troubles, the visit of Shakespeare to Scotland, and the writing of Macbeth. I shall treat only of three subjects: 1, Gower; 2, Edmond Shakespeare; 3, Fletcher and Massinger.

Firstly, then, of Gower. John Gower, the liberal contributor to the rebuilding of the Priory of St. Mary Overies, was born about 1333; little is known of him, and of that little I propose to treat of one point only; the rest is accessible in the cheap edition of his works, or in any Biographical Dictionary: this point is the nature of his relations with Chaucer, the one thing that any modern English reader can be expected to care about; as to his works: his "Speculum Meditantis" is in French; his "Vox Clamantis" is in Latin; and his "Confessio Amantis," with which we have some concern, is drearily monotonous; it is true that he was in a sense a kind of laureate writing directly under the king's orders; but if we had to study the writings of all poets of this kind it would be hard on us; and on our posterity it would be something one avoids to think of. Let us then come to facts. In 1378, Chaucer, who was certainly five, some think seventeen, years younger than Gower, went to

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Lombardy and had to appoint two persons to appear for him in the Courts if necessary during his absence: he appointed John Gower and Richard Forrester; Chaucer and Gower were therefore intimate friends in that year.

In 1381, the assured date of the ending Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida," Chaucer writes:

> O moral Gower, this book I direct
> To thee and to the philosophic Strode.
> To vouchensafe, there need is, to correct
> Of your benignity's and zelè's good.

They were still fast friends; "moral" is equivalent to author of "Vox Clamantis."

In or about 1383, Gower began his "Confessio Amantis;" he tells us in his Prologue how, when rowing on the Thames, he met Richard II, into whose boat he was invited and bidden write a new thing for the king's sake, which he did in eight books, probably one book annually, ending it in 1390: for in 1390 Richard granted "John Gower, clerk" (the description does not say priest), the rectory of Great Braxted in Essex. In book viii of the Confessio, he makes Venus say:

> And greet well Chaucer when ye meet
> As my disciple and my poete;
> For in the flowers of his youth
> In sundry wise, as he well couth,
> Of ditties and of songès glade
> The which he for my sakè made
> The land fulfilled is o'er all
> Whereof to him in speciäl
> Above all other I am most holdè.

They were still good friends then in 1390.

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In the prologue to the Man of Law's tale (or as for brevity I shall write it the Lawyer's), there is a violent attack on Gower for writing "cursed stories." One important result of my subsequent investigation will be the fixing of the date of this by a consideration of Chaucer's career. Passing this over for the present, in 1392 (16 Rich. II, after 22nd June), Gower transferred his dedication of his Confessio from the king to the Duke of Lancaster, and omitted his notice of Chaucer altogther. There had been somehow a great change in their relations between the poets.

Thus far, I am in entire agreement with Skeat, who appears to me to have taken a more rational view of this matter than any preceding editor of Chaucer. But I cannot find in his edition any satisfactory explanation why such a change took place. This I shall try to elucidate, premising that the by-products of this operation may, as often happens, prove more valuable than the result especially sought for. To explain this change of relations between Chaucer and Gower will require a more minute examination of their literary careers than has been ever attempted until now; and before comparing the proceedings of the two poets I must give a sketch of the results of my investigations on two disputed questions. 1. The arrangement of the Canterbury Tales. 2. The chronology of Chaucer's works. I might indeed be content to assume the latter as settled, seeing that the dates of the commencement of the Legend of Good Women and the Canterbury Tales, with which I am mainly concerned, are practically undisputed; but, were I to do this, the main strength of my argument,

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which lies in the completeness with which it explains the whole career of Chaucer, would be thrown aside. The arrangement of the tales is no difficult matter; I give it now as I published it in 1877. The only objection to it, viz., that the Canon saw the pilgrims ride out of their hostelry "in the morrow tyde," from which some deduce that this must have happened in the early morning at Ospringe, is mere hair splitting.

The number of Pilgrims assembled at the Tabard is thirty-one; and each of these is to tell "tales tweye to Canterburyward," and homeward other two: but there is abundant evidence of continual change of plan in the conduct of this poem; and in the Parson's prologue we find that every man but he had told his tale, when only twenty-three tales had been told. The five tradesmen of the prologue, who have no individual characteristics, and two of the three Nun's priests must be eliminated. The twenty-four tales actually extant are utterly confused as to order in the MSS., and until Mr. Bradshaw pointed out that they made up ten groups, the members of each group being inseparably connected, no attempt was made to settle the proper consecution. The order of seven of these groups is fixed by the order of the places named. As to the other three, we can only be guided by the time, noting one of prime (? 6 A.M.), one of 10 A.M., and another indicative of forenoon. As there is one other mention of prime, the whole journey naturally falls on two days, thus:—

FIRST DAY.

(*a*) i.	Prologue	...	Southwark, at the Tabard.
	1 Knight ...	...	Palamon and Arcite.
	2 Miller ...	...	Carpenter's wife.
			Deptford: passed prime, Greenwich.

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	3	Reeve	Miller of Trumpington.
	4	Cook	Prentice.
(*h*) vii.	1	Doctor	Virginia.
			Pardoner takes his morning draught.
	2	Pardoner ...	Three Rioters.
			[Dartford : 15 miles.]
(*g*) viii.	1	Shipman ...	Dan John and Merchant.
	2	Prioress	Clergeoun and Jews.
	3	Chaucer	Sir Thopas.
	4	Chaucer	Melibee and Prudence.
	5	Monk	Tragedies.
			Rochester : 30 miles.
	6	Priest	Chanticleer.

SECOND DAY.

(*f*) v.	1	Squire	Cambynskan.
			Prime.
	2	Franklin ...	Arviragus and Dorigen.
(*e*) ii.	1	Lawyer	Constance (G.)
			10 A.M.
iii.	1	Wife	Knight and Foul Wife (G.)
	2	Friar	Sumner and Devil.
	3	Sumner	Friar and Husbandman.
			Sittingbourne : 40 miles.
(*d*) iv.	1	Clerk	Grisildis.
			Clerk and Merchant ; refers to Wife.
	2	Merchant ...	January and May.
(*g*) vi.	1	Nun	Cecilie.
			Boughton under Blee.
	2	Canon's Yeoman	False Canon and Priest.
			"Bob up and down under the Ble."
ix.	1	Manciple ...	Phœbus and White Crow (G.)
			4 P.M.
	[?	Plowman ...	Alliterative metre.]
			"Cannot geste un ram ruf by letter."
			"Hasteth you the sun will adown,"
			7.30 P.M.
(*b*) x.	1	Parson	Homily.
			Canterbury : 56 miles.

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The groups i, ii, etc., are numbered in the order given in the best MSS. and Tyrwhitt's edition prior to Mr. Bradshaw's pointing out the necessary geographical order of seven groups: of the other three I leave ii attached to iii; and vii to viii; shifting v only (on account of its mention of Prime) to the beginning of the second day.

The other matter, the chronology of Chaucer's works, is far more intricate, and, although I find little to retract in my first attempt, I find much to add, especially a clear statement of the main principles, by which I am guided in this perplexed and difficult question. Firstly, I would point out that Chaucer's poems fall naturally into three groups; one written for men patrons, John of Gaunt, King Richard II, etc., in which women are satirised as unfaithful, or at least fickle, and marriage is derided; or, if the relation of the sexes do not enter into the plan of the poem, the author throws out sly, satirical remarks against them: of such are the House of Fame, Troilus and Cressida, many of the Canterbury Tales, etc. Next, there is a group in which women are praised as faithful and true, as in many other Canterbury Tales, and especially in the Legend of Good Women. Lastly, there is a smaller group of short poems, in which the poet writes of his own personal affairs, whether (*a*) of his love, platonic or otherwise, or (*b*) letters to his friends (Skogan, Bukton) and patrons (the King and the Princes). These are all short: Complaints, Ballads, Roundels, Envoys, and so forth. But three distinct series must be considered; and, as far as I know, every attempt at chronological arrangement that has hitherto been

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made adopts one lineal succession only; and has therefore failed.

My second main principle is hypothetical, and must be judged by its results. I hold that in every case where a poem is divided into books, parts, fits, etc., one part or book was presented annually to the patron for whom it was written. We know that this was so with the Good Women, in which a life was written "year by year," and presented to the queen. If this hypothesis is true, when a change of patrons took place, we may expect to find an unfinished poem, and we know there are several such extant in Chaucer's work. Moreover, if it be true we ought to find Chaucer producing something in most years of his career for his patrons and patronesses: and also some sequence in his personal poems; though in the latter a full series cannot be expected: many are doubtless lost, and their production would be very irregular.

Let us then apply these principles. I begin with those written for women.

1367. Origen on the Magdalen. Translation.
1368. A.B.C.: Translation, for Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt.
1368. Melibee (a): translation.
1369. Sir Thopas (a): unfinished. Blanche died 12 Sept.
1370. Tragedies (a): Monk's tale.
1371–3. Penitence (a): Parson's translation.
1374. Cecile (a): Nun's: Query, for Constance, Gaunt's second wife.
1375–80. Grisel (a): Clerk's: in six parts.
1381–3. Constance (a): Lawyer's: in three parts (including parts of De Contemptu Mundi).
1384. Clergeoun (a): Prioress'.
1385. Tragedies (b): Monk's: modern additions.

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1385–6. Cambynskan (a): Squire's: unfinished. Constance and Gaunt leave England in April.
1386–94. Good Women: for Queen Anne; unfinished. Anne dies 1394.
1395. Prologue to Good Women (b): for Alceste [Philippa de Courcy].
1396. Chaucer enters old age.

Of these dates those for Cecile and beginning of Good Women have been proved by Ten Brink and others; and the only differences in the whole order from Skeat's conjectural order are (1) that I regard the Prioress' tale and Sir Thopas as early work; but Skeat admits (iii, 421) the similarities between the Prioress' and the Nun's and the A.B.C., and in iii, 424, seems half inclined to my view that Sir Thopas was early, and points out the want of strictness in the metre. (2) Skeat puts Melibee and Penitence after the Clerk's. I put all Chaucer's prose translations (including Boethius) before it. There is no positive evidence for either view. Now let us turn to the poems written for men patrons.

1367. Alys and Aloysius: "in his youth," *i.e.*, *ætat.* 28.
1367. The Rose: translation for Gaunt.
1368. The Lion.
1369. Death of Blanche (incorporating Ceyx): for Gaunt.
1370–4. Boethius, in five books. Prose translation.
1374–6. Fame, in three books: unfinished. Ch. employed for king, 1376–7.
1377–81. Troilus and Cressida, in five books: for Gaunt.
1382. Birds: for King.
1383. Mars and Venus: for Gaunt.
1383–6. Palamon (a), in four parts: for King.
1387. Anelida: unfinished. Query, for Gaunt.
1387–94. Canterbury Tales. Query, for King and Queen: unfinished. Queen dies 1394.

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The order in this series, as in the former, differs from Skeat's in two points, but in this case they are much more important, and I altogether reject the gratuitous hypothesis that Chaucer wrote two versions of the Knight's tale. On the contrary, I hold with Tyrwhitt, that in his Palamon he carefully avoided making a second version of the Teseide portion of the Parliament of Birds (ll. 183–294); compressing in the Palamon these sixteen stanzas into as many lines (2809–2815); also that the coincidence between the lines 2809–2815 in Palamon and Troilus v 1807–1827, is so slight as to be of no value for such a hypothesis, while the only real repetition, viz., in Anelida, 22–46, from Palamon, 859–873, is intentional and intended to emphasize the fact that in both cases Theseus and Hippolita are adumbrations of John of Gaunt and Constance of Spain, of which more will be said presently.

2. I also reject Ten Brink's date for the House of Fame. There is no evidence as to the priority of either of the dream passages, Fame, 1–54, Troilus, v, 358–385; and the notion that Fame must have been written in a year in which 10th December fell on a Thursday, because Jupiter sends the eagle for Chaucer, can scarcely be seriously considered. The poem was written, I feel confident, in 1374–6, when Chaucer's first three years of labour at reckoning made a hermit of him, ii, 145, and so the king immediately gave him leisure in 1376 and 1377, sending him abroad on his affairs; his practical relief in these years when he must have employed a deputy, authorised or not, is far more to the purpose than the legal permission to appoint one in 1385.

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In both these series, on my hypothesis of one book (or one part) one year, every year from 1367 to 1395 is exactly filled, there is no year empty and no year with two poems, except for the Canterbury Tales, which will require separate consideration.

I will consider next Chaucer's Complaints, etc.

1372+. The Former Age, from Boethius, ii. S. metre.
?. To Rosamund. S. Ballad.
1380. Roundel. Conclusion of some love affair. Qy. with Cecile de Champagne.
1380. Women unconstant. O.B.
1380. To a new mistress [Nobless]. B. Query, Philippa de Vere, *née* de Courcy.
1381. Complaint. C. "Will serve year by year."
1382. Wholly yours. S. Valentine's day. *Cf.* Birds.
1383. Of greater cause [Lodestar]. C. Val. day.
1384. D'Amours. C. Val. day.
1385. To Pity. C.
1386. To my lady. Experimental complex metre. Incomplete.
1386. Anelida. Experimental complex metre. Incomplete.
Gaunt and Constance leave England and Good Women begun for the Queen.
1387. Mitre, crown, or diadem. C. B. Concerning the Archbishop of York, Richard II, and the Duke of Exeter.
1393. To Skogan. C. Chaucer hoar and round.
1396. To Bukton. S.E. Frisian war, 1396.
1397. { Complaint of Venus. } S. Two Ballads. E. Chaucer old; *ætat.* 56+.
{ Fortune. } To three princes; query, Gaunt, York and Lancaster (or March).
1398. To Richard II. C. B. E.
1399. To Henry IV. C. B. E.
1400. Flee from the Press. C. B. E. On his death bed.

The only important difference in this series from Skeat's arrangement is the much later date I give to the Pity Complaint; but admitting the authenticity of the Complaints from 1380 to 1386, a close examination

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shows that they form a connected series, and the only reason for an early date for this one is the figment of Chaucer's hopeless love for eight years (Blanche, l. 37). I believe the eight years' sickness to mean marriage, only to be remedied by death.

Having now completed the statement of the chronological order of production of all Chaucer's works except the Canterbury Tales, I will attempt to give a hypothetical statement also for them, although this has always been looked on as an insoluble problem, and certainly presents considerable difficulty. In the list of the Tales already given a division into eight groups is indicated by prefixed letters (*a*), (*b*), etc., always coincident with the Bradshaw groups, but omitting iii and ix. To these I shall now refer.

1387. This is certainly the date of the Prologue, 18th April.

1388. Chaucer revises Palamon (Knight) and appends Miller, Reeve, Cook; which are inseparable from it. Cook is unfinished, which indicates some change of plan. I think Skeat right in supposing that a version of Gamelyn was intended to follow here, *e.g.*, the Yeoman's Tale. This settles group (*a*).

1389. He picks up the old Parson's tale of 1371–5, the oldest he had by him (except Melibee and Thopas, which were written for Blanche, and of which more presently); then Cecile, Nun, a, of 1374, inserting l. 36–56, and writes Canon's Yeoman and Manciple; groups (*b*) and (*c*).

1390. He picks up Grisildis, Clerk, a, of 1375–9, inserts the Envoy and ll. 939–952, 1170–1176; and writes Merchant: group (*d*).

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1391–2. He picks up Constance, Lawyer, a, of 1380–2 (including Prologue, ll. 99–133, and ll. 421–7; 771–7; 925–31; 1135–41, from Pope Innocent's De Contemptu Mundi); writes the Shipman's tale for the wife of Bath; Friar, and Sumner; thus completing group (*e*). He then picks up the unfinished Cambynskan, Squire, a, of 1385–6, and writes Franklin, group (*f*).

1393. He determines to give the Wife a more decent story; writes the foul wife for her and transfers Dan John to the Shipman; then, reverting to his former practice, he picks up the Clergeoun, Prioress, a, of 1384; then the two tales he wrote for Blanche, 1368–9, Melibee and Thopas; then the Tragedies, Monk, a, of 1371, b, of 1385; adding ll. 561–736; and finally writes the Priest, making up group (*g*).

1394. He writes the Physician and Pardoner.

1395. He revises the Parson, which, in its original shape was probably Wiclifite (so written to please Gaunt), into an anti-Lollard treatise on Penance, and adds his Retractions.

This arrangement is necessarily conjectural; but it offers an explanation of the absence of links between the groups, which no hypothesis of writing straight on from Knight to Parson can give; and agrees with all known details concerning the dates of individual tales.

One important test of the whole chronology still remains. Does the proposed system give a fairly equable distribution of poetical work through Chaucer's career? We have a right to expect this; for Chaucer was a courtier depending on his patrons, and any neglect of them even for a year or two would have been fatal to him. He was as much bound to

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keep himself in the constant eye of the Court as a modern novelist is in the eye of the public. Let us try this test: which is certainly not satisfied by any other scheme hitherto proposed.

A.D.	Lines.	Work.	Lines.	Work.	Lines.	Work.	Total.
136–	? Ceyx	Lion ...	—	Origen, Innocent	24	Rosamond ...	?
1367	1705	Rose +	184	A.B.C. ...	—	—	1889
1368			Prose.	Melibee, a ...	—	—	(2 yrs.)
1369	1334	Blanche ...	127	Thopas, a +	—	—	1989
1370	Prose.	Boethius i ...	528	Tragedies, a	—	—	(2 yrs.)
1371	„	„ ii ...	Prose.	Parson, i, a...	—	—	Prose.
1372	„	„ iii ...	„	„ ii ...	—	—	Prose.
1373	„	„ iv ...	„	„ iii ...	—	—	—
1374	„	„ v ...	—	—	—	—	—
—	508	Fame i ...	582	Cecile ...	64	Former Age	1104
1375	582	„ ii ...	140	Grisildis i ...	—	—	722
1376	1080	„ iii ...	252	„ ii ...	—	—	1332
1377	1092	Troilus i ...	161	„ iii ...	—	—	1253
1378	1757	„ ii ...	175	„ iv ...	—	—	1932
1379	1848	„ iii ...	140	„ v ...	—	—	1988
1380	1673	„ iv ...	231	„ vi ...	39	Roundel ...	1997
—	—	—	—	—	21	Inconstant W.	—
—	—	—	—	—	33	Noblesse ...	—
1381	1883	„ v ...	203	Constance i *	21	Complaint ...	2114
—	7	Adam ...	—	—	—	—	—
1382	699	Birds ...	378	„ ii	32	Wholly yours	1109
—	298	Mars ...	—	—	—	—	—
1383	496	Palamon i ...	273	„ iii	49	Lodestar ...	1116
1384	526	„ ii ...	238	Clergeoun ...	91	D'Amours ...	855
1385	602	„ iii ...	88	Tragedies ...	119	Pity... ...	1167
—	—	—	358	Cambynskan i	—	—	—
1386	626	„ iv ...	326	„ ii	133	My Lady ...	1730
—	—	—	—	—	705	Prol.G.W.Cleop	—

* NOTE.—Skeat, whom I here follow, has shown that the following lines were inserted at the revision of this tale: they are all accounted for in the reckoning in the text.

98. Host's words, 1–98.
35. Prologue, 99–133 (from Pope Innocent). I. 35 lines.
14. 190– 203.
21. 295– 315.
14. 358– 371.
} 49 lines in part i.
7. 421– 427. I.
14. 449– 462.
28. 632– 658.
14. 701– 714.
7. 771– 778. I.
42. 827– 868.
} 112 lines in part ii.
7. 925– 931. I.
7. 1135–1141. I.
} 14 lines in part iii.
210 lines in all, besides the Host's 98.

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HERE BEGIN THE CANTERBURY TALES.

A.D.	Lines.	Work.	Lines.	Work.	Lines.	Work.	Total.
1387	858	Prologue ...	[357	Anelida] ...	218	Thisbe ...	1454
—	—	—	—	—	21	Gentiless ...	—
1388	—	Knight, b ...	78	Prol. Miller	442	Dido ...	1756
—	668	Miller ...	66	„ Reeve	—	—	—
—	404	Reeve ...	40	„ Cook ...	—	—	—
—	58	Cook ...	—	—	—	—	—
1389	21	Nun, b ...	166	„ C. Yeoman	312	Hypsipyle ...	1695
—	762	C. Yeoman...	104	„ Manciple	—	Medea ...	—
—	258	Manciple ...	74	„ Parson	—	—	—
—	—	Parson ...	—	—	—	—	—
1390	14	Clerk ...	56	„ Clerk ...	206	Lucretia ...	1246
—	42	Envoy ...	32	„ Merchant	—	—	—
—	1174	Merchant ...	22	Epil. „	—	—	—
1391	—	—	98	Prol. Lawyer	342	Ariadne ...	4097
—	210	Lawyer, b ...	856	„ Wife ...	—	[Astrolabe]	(for
—	434	Wife (Johan)	34	„ Friar ...	—	—	two
—	366	Friar ...	44	„ Sumner	167	Philomena...	years)
—	586	Sumner ...	88	„ Squire	—	—	—
—	—	Squire, b ...	56	„ Franklin	—	—	—
—	896	Franklin ...	—	—	—	—	—
1393	—	—	28	„ Shipman	168	Phyllis ...	1738
—	434	"Foul wife"	18	„ Prioress	[49	Skogan] ...	—
—	—	Prioress, b...	21	„ Thopas	—	—	—
—	—	Thopas, b ...	48	„ Melibee	—	—	—
—	—	Melibee, b ...	102	„ Monk...	—	—	—
—	176	Monk, c ...	54	„ Priest	—	—	—
—	626	Priest ...	14	Epil. Yeoman	—	—	—
1394	286	Physician ...	176	Prol. Pardoner	162	Hypermnestra	1130
—	506	Pardoner ...	—	—	—	—	—
1395	Prose.	Parson, c ...	—	Ch. "Old" *Ætat* 57	c.100	Prol. G.W., b	100

HERE END THE CANTERBURY TALES.

1396	96.	To Bukton. S.	96
1397	79.	Fortune; 82 Venus. S. 3 B.E. to the Princes	161
1398	28.	To Rich. ii. C.B.E.	28
1399	26.	To Henry iv. C.B.E.	26
1400	28.	Flee from the Press. C.B.E.	28

These results, which are necessarily merely rough approximations, are quite satisfactory; they show minima of work in 1375 and 1384, the year in which we know that Chaucer's duties at the Customs were most irksome to him, and maxima in 1381, when he had come to a settlement with Cecilie de Champagne, and 1391, when he was excited by the quarrel with Gower. But the table will be useful to students for other purposes.

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After this long but necessary preamble, we are at last in a position from which we can survey and compare the literary careers of Gower and Chaucer. I begin with Gower.

1383. Book i of the Confessio Amantis contains among others the stories of 1, Florentius ; 2, Nebuchadnezzar.

1384. Book ii. 3. Constance ; 4, Hercules ; 5, Briseis ; 6, Cressida.

1385. Book iii. 7, Canace ; 8, White Crow ; 9, Thisbe.

1386. Book iv. 10, Dido ; 11, Penelope ; 12, Phyllis ; 13, Deianira ; 14, Lavinia ; 15, Ceyx.

1387. Book v. 16, Mars and Venus ; 17, Medea ; 18, Ariadne ; 19, Philomena ; 20, Belshazzar ; 21, Helen.

1388. Book vi. 22, Iseult ; 23, Nero.

1389. Book vii. 24, Lucrecia ; 25, Virginia.

1390. Book viii. 26, Lucifer ; 27, Adam ; 28, Apollonius. 29, The notice of Chaucer, with whom we shall find all the twenty-eight tales enumerated to be more or less connected. These tales form about a quarter of Gower's whole work.

Now let us compare this list with the career of Chaucer.

1366 or earlier. Chaucer "in his youth" wrote the story of Ceyx and Alcyone, which, in 1369, he incorporated with the death of Blanche. In 1386 Gower re-wrote this tale.

1371, or thereabout. In the Tragedies, Chaucer wrote short summaries of Hercules and Deianira, Nebuchadnezzar, and Belshazzar ; Gower re-wrote these in 1383, 1384 and 1387.

1378, May 21st. Chaucer procured letters of attorney for Gower and Forester to act for him during his absence from England.

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1381. At the end of his Troilus, Chaucer addresses Gower :

> O moral Gower this book I direct
> To thee and to the philosophical Strode
> To vouchensafe, there need is, to correct
> Of your benignity's and zelès good.

But in 1384 Gower wrote a rival version of the poem.

1381-3. Chaucer wrote the tale of Constance. In 1384 Gower produced a version, in which he borrows largely from Chaucer. Skeat, who discovered these appropriations, gives a list of sixteen of them (Vol. II, pp. 1-5).

1383. Chaucer wrote his Mars and Venus ; in 1387 Gower made a version of the myth which Chaucer had utilised for his Satire.

Up to 1386 I can find no instance of Chaucer writing any story which had been utilised by Gower, but the appropriation of so many of his own subjects by his contemporary, especially in the case of Constance, where his very language was stolen as well as the general treatment, must have been very irritating. Accordingly, he determined, as Gower had provoked by his plagiarism a comparison between them, to give further opportunities for such comparison to be made.

1386, May. In the ballad in the Prologue to Good Women he makes a list of nineteen, whose stories he means to tell year by year. Among these are Thisbe, Canace, Dido, Phyllis, Lavinia, and Penelope ; all of which had been narrated by Gower. He could not take up one of these in 1386, as the queen, through her intermediary Alceste (Philippa de Vere), had

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ordered him to begin with Cleopatra; but he did in the next year.

1387. Chaucer writes Thisbe. Gower's version dates 1385. In this same year in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales we have this description of the Clerk:

> *A Clerk* there was of Oxenford also,
> That unto logic hadde long ygo.
> As lene was his horse as is a rake,
> And he was not right fat I undertake,
> But looked holw and thereto soberly.
> Full threadbare was his overest courtepy,
> *For he had getten him yet no benefice*;
> Ne was so worldly for to have office.
> For him was lever have at his beddes head
> Twenty bookes clad in black or red
> *Of Aristotle and his philosophy*
> Than robes rich or fiddle or gay psaltry.
> But, all for that he was *a philosopher*,
> Yet hadde he but little gold in coffer;
> But all, that he might of his friendes hent,
> On bookes and on learning he it spent;
> And busily gan for the soules pray
> Of them that gave him wherewith to scholay.
> Of study took he most cure and most heed;
> Not a word spake he more than was need,
> And that was said in form and reverence
> And short and quick and full of high sentence.
> *Sowning in moral virtue* was his speech
> And gladly would he learn and *gladly teach*.

I have italicised the most striking similarities between this Clerk and Gower; there is no line that may not have applied to him; but the facts—that he had as yet no benefice; that when he did get one he was described as Clerk, not as Priest; that the whole of book vii. of his Confessio Amantis is concerned with

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"How Alexander was taught of Aristotle"; that he was, as Morley says, "very much of a philosopher and liked life best in his own home"; that, six years before, Chaucer had summed him up as the "moral Gower"; that his poems were didactic, especially the "Speculum Meditantis," written "to teach by a right path the way a sinner ought to return, etc.";—all these facts taken together absolutely identify them. Is there any other man of whom these six statements can be predicted? If so, let him be named. I cannot find him. Moreover, the host in the Clerk's Prologue, bids the Clerk not to study about sophisms, to tell a merry tale, not one that makes us sleep (as Gower's tales certainly do), and to keep his tiring colors and figures in store,

> till so be ye indite
> High style, as when that men to kinges write.

Now, what living teller of tales was there who wrote to kings except Chaucer and Gower? I do not suppose anyone will identify the Clerk with Chaucer.

1388. Chaucer writes Dido, after Gower, 1386.

1389. Chaucer writes Medea, after Gower, 1387. Also the Manciple's Tale of the White Crow and Phœbus after Gower, 1385.

1390. Chaucer writes Lucrecia, after Gower, 1389.

In this year Gower presents his complete poem to the king, and gets from him the living of Great Braxted, in Essex. The poem was begun in 1383, at the king's request, and contains the following notice of Chaucer in book viii, written in 1390. Gower is

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"old"; therefore of 56 years at the lowest reckoning. Venus says:

And greet well Chaucer, when ye meet,
As my disciple and my poete:
For in the flowers of *his youth*
In sundry wise, as he well couth,
Of ditties and of songes glade,
The which he for my sake made,
The land fulfilled is over all;
Whereof to him in special
Above all other I am most holde,
Forthy now in *his dayes olde*
Thou shalt him telle this message,
That he, upon *his later age*,
To set *an end of all his work*,
That he, which is mine owne Clerk,
Do make his testament of love,
As thou hast do thy shrift above,
So that my court it may record.

After which comes a eulogy of Richard II.

Now, this is friendly enough in form; but there is nothing more irritating than to be praised for one's worse work, while the better is ignored. Chaucer's real achievements were not the ditties and songs of his youth, before 1366, now almost entirely lost; but the great poems of his manhood, 1347–1390, as enumerated at length in the earlier part of this paper; it is still more irritating to be told that one is old before one's time; that the epoch has come to put an end to work altogether, and make one's testament, whether of love or what else; but to be told this by one, who acknowledges himself an old man, yet thinks himself able to show how kings should be taught and lovers should be shriven; one who had introduced into his only English poem some half-dozen stories, which his

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rival had announced an intention to narrate; one who had, six years before, deliberately copied, and stolen from, one of his poems without any acknowledgment whatever; one who, after this theft, quietly ignored this and all other great poems of Chaucer's manhood, damning him with a faint praise of his early virelais and roundels; all this is more than irritating; it is so insulting as to require a public castigation; silence is no longer possible.

Accordingly Chaucer, who, early in this very year had in his Clerk's Prologue identified his Clerk with Gower as one who writes to kings in high style, while at the same time poking a little harmless fun at him for his Lenten preaching, his terms, colours, and figures, and indirectly setting him in comparison with Petrarch, the other laureate poet, who "with high style enditeth," and even placing him above him in one respect for conveying his matter without impertinent details; in the next year, 1391, bursts forth with a reply, in which he gives the lie direct to Gower's implications. In the Lawyer's Prologue, the Lawyer implies that Chaucer, in the many books written in his manhood, has told all the thrifty tales that he has ever met with; he admits that of Ceyx, and that only, as a production of youth: but from the Good Women, in which he had been for years a direct rival of Gower, he gives a list of sixteen. Now, this list includes all the nine tales which Chaucer intended to write, as well as the seven which he had already written, and differs curiously from that in the Women Prologue; he now inserts Hypsipyle (already written), Briseis, Deianire, and Hermione, which he means to write; but omits Absalom, Jonathan, Esther, Marcia, Lavinia, Iseult, and

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one other. The three inserted are all included in Ovid's "Epistles" (Heroides), the six omitted are not. He claims credit for "mo than Ovid" because of Alceste, Cleopatra, Thisbe, Lucretia, Philomela, Polixena; although he omits the Ovidian Phædra, Œnone, Sappho, and Cydippe. So far well: the relations between Gower are hitherto evidently strained, but the tie between them is not broken, they might have ended with "tap for tap and so part fair."

But the one other tale italicised above was the tale of Canace, which, in 1385, Gower had written, and in 1386 Chaucer had said he would re-write, clearly in rivalry with Gower. Now, hear what he says in 1390:

> But certainly no word ne writeth he
> Of thilke *wikke ensample* of Canace,
> That loved her own brother sinfully:
> Of swiche *cursed stories* I say fy.
> Or else of Tyro Apollonius,
> How that the cursed King Antiochus
> Bereft his daughter of her maidenhead,
> That is so *horrible a tale* for to read,
> When he her threw upon the pavement.
> And therefore he of *full avisement*
> Nolde never write in none of his sermons
> Of swch *unkind abominations*,
> Ne I will none rehearse, if that I may.

"Cursed stories" and "tales horrible to read" are strong phrases when applied to a friend's work, however deservedly: and when used by one who for years before had proclaimed that he would write one of the cursed stories himself, are not very seemly. No wonder Gower was angered. Moreover, Chaucer, who at first intends to make his Lawyer "speak in prose" (perhaps the tale of Melibee, as has been

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suggested by someone, I forget by whom), instead of a prose tale makes him recite Constance—the one tale in which Gower had stolen Chaucer's matter, as well as his subject—in elaborate metre of Chaucerian stanza. He has taken the utmost pains to indicate that it is Gower's attack, and no one's else, that has made him wince.

I may note, in parenthesis, that the Lawyer, who knows Chaucer's intentions so well, must have been a real personage. Who was he? Was he Richard Forrester?

In this year, 1391, Chaucer also wrote Ariadne, which Gower had treated of in 1371.

1392. Chaucer, who, in 1391, was so angry with Gower's cursed stories of unkind abominations, presents to the queen, the incestuous rape of Tereus on Philomela: a tale not included in the lists either of the Women's Prologue or the Lawyer's. Surely comment or explanation is unnecessary. He also writes more Canterbury Tales.

1392. The king for some reason (whether connected or not with the quarrel between the poets does not appear) had withdrawn his countenance from Gower, and in the sixteenth year of his reign, that is, after 22nd June in this year, the second version of the "Confessio Amantis" was issued with the dedication transferred from Richard II to John of Gaunt, and with the passages noticing Chaucer and praising the sovereign altogether expunged. It is usually stated that Gower had "turned his back upon an evil king" (Morley); but I think it more likely that the evil king had turned his back on Gower, who, however, did not for some years more turn his back on the evil

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king's gift of the living in Essex. Chaucer pursued the even tenor of his way; writing his versions of Phyllis (Gower's version dates 1386) and the White Crow story (Gower, 1385) in 1393; and his unfinished Hypermnestra (not treated by Gower) and Virginia (Gower, 1389) in the following year. His career practically ended with the death of the queen, June, 1394. His triumph over Gower was short lived, and the issue of this unfortunate quarrel may be summed up in one remark. Gower, though he gave the first occasion for offence, showed himself the truer friend; but Chaucer was the better courtier.

I must not omit here to point out one strange misapprehension which has led to utter confusion in the chronology of Chaucer's work. All the greater Chaucerian critics with whose work I am acquainted agree in making the version of the Prologue to the Good Women MS. of Camb. Univ., Lib. Gg. 4-27, the earlier of the two. It is palpably the later: it puts Chaucer, l. 315, in the class of "old fools," where the earlier version has "wretches": still more strongly in l. 261,

> Thou beginnest dote
> As olde fooles when their spirit faileth,

which has no corresponding passage in the other version, and it omits the mention of the queen. The date of this version is 1395, after the queen's death, when Chaucer's age was fifty-seven. The name Alceste is in this second version introduced in the ballad instead of "My Lady," and as so much of the evidence of the succession of Chaucer's poems depends on the right understanding of this change, I venture

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on an explanatory digression. In Troilus i, 157, we read—

> the tyme
> Of Aperil, when clothed is the mede
> With newe grene of lusty Ver the pryme,
> And swete smelling flowres white and rede.

Skeat has no note on the passage, but in his glossary he has:

> "Ver. the spring T., i, 157."
> "Pryme. s. prime (of day), usually 9 a.m., T., i, 157,"

and he inserts commas after "grene" and "pryme." The meaning is, clothed with fresh green [leaves] and sweet-smelling white and red flowers of the flor di primavera; the dazie floure (Florio), daisie (Minsheu). "Leaves" is implied in "clothed"; Minsheu, under Leafe, tells us that folia sunt arborum vestimenta. It follows that the daisy in Chaucer is ver the prime clothed in (royal) green and (crowned with) flowers, red and white; this is precisely the description of Alceste, who was turned into a daisy, Prol. G.W. 214-226, 512. But why should Chaucer use the uncouth expression of "Ver the prime," instead of saying daisy in plain English? I answer this by another question: Why does he use "wicked nest" for Mauny in Monk, l. 397? To conceal the name Mauny under the synonym of mau-nid answers Skeat, who made this ingenious discovery, and so, say I, under "Ver the pryme" he hides the name Vere, the lady of high degree, Philippa, wife of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford in 1371, Marquis of Dublin, 1385, Nov. (Stow), Duke of Ireland, 1388, Mar. 18th. This Philippa, née de Courcey, is Chaucer's flower; the pendant to Deschamp's Philippe the "leaf" of his third

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Ballade, daughter of John of Gaunt and Blanche. This ballad was written about the same time as Chaucer's Prologue to the Women, before her marriage in 1387 to John I of Portugal. *See* Chaucer Society Trial foreword to Minor Poems, p. 125; where, in the quotation from one of Deschamp's flower ballads, viii should not be altered into vii, but another "P" should be inserted in l. 3; as anyone must see who can scan French verse. This Philippa of Chaucer's was divorced by her husband in 1387, in order that he might marry Lancecrona; whence the troubles in that year, for which I must refer you to the chroniclers and historians; what we are concerned with is that the Squire's Tale, part ii, in which Philippa's story is begun (it was never finished), *see* lines 654 *seq.*, and which prophesies a reconciliation, must have been written before the divorce in 1387; while Anelida, which tells the same story, but stops with her appeal to Mars, must have come after it. This lady is also the lady of Chaucer's "Complaints," which contain no serious love-making but merely the chivalrous homage of an age in which Courts of Love, etc., were recognised institutions.

It does not come within the scope of this address to consider how far Chaucer introduced into his poems representations of actual contemporaries; but I cannot, in the face of the importance of this question and its intimate connection with the matter, already discussed, omit a statement of my views on this point; I attempt no proof on this occasion.

From 1377 to 1387 all the important poems are written with a personal reference; I divide them into groups thus:—

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i. The adultery between the Duchess of York and John Holland. Troilus (1377-81) was written by command of John of Gaunt to set forth the general nature of the situation of the parties concerned, Troilus, Creseyde, and Diomed corresponding to the Duke of York, the Duchess, and Holland respectively; but this application not being pointed enough to satisfy Gaunt, he ordered Chaucer to write the Complaint of Mars, in which (1383) they appear as Vulcan, Venus, and Mars. The story of Palamon and Emily (1383-6), on the other hand, obscurely adumbrates the marriage of the Duke and Duchess of York, as well as:

ii. That of John of Gaunt and his elder sister Constance: this latter is repeated in Anelida (1387).

iii. The neglect of Philippa de Vere by her husband the Earl of Oxford, is plainly told in the story of Cambynskan (1386), where they are the tercelet and the falcon; Canace being for the nonce the good Queen Anne: in Anelida (1387), the story is more plainly told, as of Anelida and the false Arcite; Philippa is also the Alceste of the Prologue to Good Women (1386, 1395).

iv, v. The celebration of actual events in the death of the Duchess (1369), and the assembly of Birds (1382), is not disputed by anyone.

I must not trespass further on your patience; this Gower question has grown already into so tall a tree as to completely overshadow the little undergrowth of the other subjects to which I promised to call your attention. You can hardly have forgotten that one of the cursed stories with which Chaucer reproached Gower was that of Apollonius of Tyre;

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now, this tale remained so indissolubly attached to the memory of Gower that, when, in 1607, George Wilkins revived the story in the play of Pericles for the king's men at the Globe, he made Gower the presenter or chorus of the play. Shakespeare re-fashioned the play in 1608; and very properly rejected the incestuous portion of the story, confining himself to the adventures of Marina in the last three acts. This portion, complete in itself, was printed by me in the N.S.S. transactions, and, there being no reservation of copyright, will shortly be given to the public by one of our eminent critics. This by the way. Now, this same George Wilkins had, in 1604, written a play for the king's men called, The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, in which the career of Walter Calverley, of Calverley, in Yorkshire, was under a very thin disguise, exhibited on the stage; but, when, in 1605, these miseries culminated in murder, and Calverley was pressed to death, the murder story was represented on the stage, and separately published as the Yorkshire Tragedy by W. Shakespeare. I have in my history of the drama shown how this, with the Wilkins play, made up the four plays in one mentioned in the 1619 edition, where the title is "All's one, or one of the four plays in one, called a Yorkshire Tragedy"; but I had not, in 1891, formed a settled opinion as to its authorship. The problem is to find an author connected with the king's players in 1605, so closely connected with Shakespeare as to be allowed to use the name W. Shakespeare on his title-page without opposition, one who wrote in a style so like the great master's that many writers, from Steevens to Schlegel, maintained that it was his own production. The

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mere fact that its date lies between Othello and Lear shows their mistake; it is not conceivable that Shakespeare could have produced anything so crude, in spite of occasional powerful lines, at that stage of his career. Nor is there any known author to whom it can be attributed. I once thought Drayton might be the man; but Drayton does not use the inordinate repetition of a word or phrase that this author does; nor would Shakespeare's name have been allowed to remain on a play of Drayton's. But if Edmond Shakespeare, the player who was buried in this church with a forenoon knell of the great bell, 31st December, 1607, be assumed to be the missing author, all becomes clear. His brother William would naturally revise the text of his first production, and superintend its publication, and even allow the use of his own name; and the family likeness of style is just like that in other instances where the home and the education of brothers has been the same; for example, in the case of Tennyson and his brothers; or of Walter Savage Landor and his brother Robert. Just to show that this likness exists, I quote the following:

> I see how Ruin with a palsied hand
> Begins to shake this ancient seat to dust. Scene 3.
> But you are playing in the angels' laps
> And will not look on me. Scene 10.
> This voice into all places will be hurled
> Thou and the devil have deceived the world. Scene 2.

From Shakespeare to Fletcher is a much smaller stride than from Gower to Shakespeare; in fact, Fletcher, with his great coadjutor Beaumont, was the immediate successor of Shakespeare in writing for the king's men; this only lasted for a couple of years,

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1611-12. In 1613 Beaumont retired from play-writing, and Fletcher joined Field and Massinger in play production for another company; but in 1616 all three were writing for the king's men, and except a year or two of Massinger's work, all three were so engaged till their deaths. It would be useless for me to enlarge on the merits of these men after such critics as Lamb, Dyce, and Swinburne. My tribute to their memory has been paid by separating the work of each of these poets and determining the chronological succession of the plays; a task which even Dyce had declared it was impossible to perform; and the only way that occurs to me of continuing this tribute on this occasion is to offer, through your Society, to students of dramatic literature a restoration of the dramatic repertoire of the Globe theatre in Southwark; which is identical with that of the Blackfriars private house for 1616-1625, and includes the time during which Fletcher and Massinger were working together. This also has been pronounced an impossible feat; and I feel justified in challenging our Shakespearian critics to do the like for any other theatre during the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and the first Charles; or in default of this to show that I am in more than one year's error in the date of any play.

In this table (M) means that Massinger revised and produced the play at a later date; he may, or may not, have been one of the original authors of it. Besides the plays here mentioned, Fletcher and Massinger (F. and M.) were concerned in the Honest Man's Fortune, 1613; and after Fletcher's death, Jonson completed and produced, in 1626, January 22nd,

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The Fair Maid of the Inn (by F. and M.) left unfinished at Fletcher's death.

1616.	—	—	—	Jonson ...	Devil's an ass.
	—	F.	—	—	Bonduca.
	—	F.	—	—	Valentinian.
	—	—	(M.)	Field	Fatal Dowry.
1617.	—	F.	M.	Field	Jeweller of Amsterdam.
	—	F.	M.	—	Bloody Brother.
	—	F.	M.	—	Henry VIII.
	—	F.	M.	Field	Thierry and Theodoret.
1618.	March...	F.	M.	Field	Queen of Corinth.
	—	F.	M.	Field	Knight of Malta.
	—	F.	—	—	Mad Lover.
	Nov. 16	F.	—	—	Loyal Subject.
1619.	—	F.	—	—	Humorous Lieutenant.
	—	—	(M.)	Jonson... ...	City Madam (? acted).
	—	F.	M.	—	Custom of the Country.
	Aug. 14	F.	M.	—	Barnaveldt.
	—	F.	M.	—	Laws of Candy.
1620.	—	F.	M.	—	Little French Lawyer.
	—	F.	M.	—	False One.
	—	F.	(M.)	—	Double Marriage.
	—	F.	—	—	Women pleased.
1621.	—	—	—	Middleton ...	Witch.
	—	F.	—	—	Island Princess.
	—	F.	—	—	Pilgrim.
	—	F.	—	—	Wildgoose Chase.
1622.	—	—	—	Middleton ...	More dissemblers besides Women.
	May 14	F.	M.	—	Prophetess.
	Jun. 22	F.	M.	—	Sea Voyage.
	Oct. 24	F.	M.	—	Spanish Curate.
1623.	—	—	—	Md. & Rowley	Anything for a quiet life.
	Aug. 29	F.	—	Rowley ...	Maid of the Mill.
	Oct. 17	F.	—	Rowley ...	Devil of Dowgate.
	Dec. 6.	F.	(M.)	—	Wandering Lovers.
1624.	—	—	—	Middleton ...	Mayor of Quinboro.
	May 27	F.	—	—	Wife for a month.
	Aug. 3	—	—	Middleton ...	Game at Chess.
	Oct. 19	F.	—	—	Rule a wife, &c.

It will be seen from this table that, while Fletcher wrote only in nine plays at most with Beaumont, he joins Massinger in producing eighteen; and while I should deeply regret any disturbance of the traditional linking of Beaumont and Fletcher, I should certainly like occasionally to hear of Fletcher and Massinger. Next to Jonson, they were the greatest dramatists of the latter half of the reign of

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James I, 1614–25; and in this place, at any rate, they should not be divided, however estranged they may have been in the last few years of Fletcher's life.

29th August, 1625. John Fletcher, described in three separate documents as a man, a gentleman, and a poet, was buried in the church, 20*s*.

18th March, 1638. Philip Massinger, a stranger (*i.e.*, of another parish), in the church, £2.

REQUIESCANT.

NOTE.—For explanation of abbreviations of metrical terms, etc., see my "Guide to Chaucer and Spenser." (Collins & Co., 1*s*.)

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NOTES ON PINNER CHURCH AND PARISH.

Read at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held at Pinner, Saturday, July 18th, 1903.

BY

REV. C. E. GRENSIDE, M.A., VICAR.

WHEN the London and Middlesex Archæological Society came here in 1867, my predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Hind, gave a full and interesting account of the antiquities of our church and parish. Mr. Hartshorne also read an able paper on Headstone Moat House. Both these papers are printed in the Society's Transactions (vol. iii). My task will be briefly to bring the history of the church up to date, and to make some observations on the connection of Pinner with the Archbishops of Canterbury, a point on which further light has been thrown by recent investigations.

Those of you who were present at the former meeting, will rejoice with me that the appearance of the church is greatly changed for the better. Dr. Hind, while pointing out its beauties, had to deplore its dilapidation. The rib of the chancel arch had fallen, the east window was out of the perpendicular, a west gallery and organ blocked up the tower arch and hid its beautiful proportions, whitewash covered the walls and roofs. Some portion of the external walls, and the buttresses of the tower were roughly patched with brick and roman cement, and the soil round the chancel had been allowed to rise to a

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height of three or four feet. No wonder Dr. Hind expressed in his paper a fervent hope that something might be done to improve the condition of the building. Nothing was done till 1879, when William Arthur Tooke, Esq., of Pinner Hill, generously undertook to restore the church of his native village as a memorial to his father. His pious act is recorded in a Latin inscription on a brass over the south door. The work was placed in the hands of the late Mr. J. L. Pearson, A.R.A., an ecclesiastical architect of the greatest distinction, and was carried out in a conservative spirit. The tower was completely renovated. The last gable of the chancel and the south porch were re-built; the windows and doors, the bases and capitals of the columns were renewed throughout the church, and the nave and chancel re-roofed. In place of the attic windows which had been (probably in the 18th century) thrust through the lath and plaster ceiling—a churchwarden's make-shift for a clerestory—Mr. Pearson substituted the dormer windows of carved oak which are one of the prettiest features of the church. The chapel on the south aisle of the chancel (built in 1859, to accommodate the children of the Commercial Travellers' Schools) was heightened and lengthened. A stone vestry replaced the brick annex which formerly stood on the north side of the chancel. The earth was removed from round the east end of the church, and a dry area with retaining walls constructed. Other parishioners, stimulated by the example of Mr. Tooke, presented gifts: Judge Barker, an organ; the family of Mr. Weal, a reredos; Mr. Rummins, an altar; Mr. Bird, choir stalls and

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pulpit, etc. Since my coming to Pinner in 1886, other gifts have been made for the adornment of the church, including a massive silver communion service to replace the old silver chalice and patten which had been stolen in 1840, and replaced by Sheffield ware ; a carved oak screen across the Tower archway (memorial to Mr. Hogg) ; a second row of carved oak stalls ; a set of richly worked frontals for the altar, and the usual ornaments for the re-table. The handsome old Jacobean altar rails, after many years exile, have been restored to their place. Some fragments of stained glass mentioned by Mr. Sperling in his "Church Walks" as the oldest in Middlesex, were in existence in Dr. Hind's time, but have long since disappeared. The modern glass is either bad or indifferent.

Among the MSS. at Lambeth Library is preserved a deed of Archbishop Walter Reynolds, dated at Croydon 1321 (Registered Folio 126), empowering a prelate (whose name is illegible) to dedicate in canonical form the chapel of Pynnor of the Archbishop's immediate jurisdiction in the Deanery of Croydon and in the Parish of Harrow saving to the Mother Church all its rights and customs. The architecture of the main body of the church corresponds with this date, the columns and arches being in the style of Gothic known as "decorated." The lancet windows at the end of the aisles and in the transepts are Early English, and point to the existence of an earlier church. The question arises, was the earlier church destroyed, and some of its material used again, or have we in this transept as it stands the older church incorporated in the new ? There is much to be said for the later view. The piscina in the east wall indicates the position of the altar, and the fact

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that the transept faces south instead of east is not evidence to the contrary, since orientation was not always strictly insisted on. Another plausible explanation is that the transept was built as a first instalment of the church in the 13th century, the whole design being then in contemplation. Certainly the design was not complete at the date of the consecration of the church, for the tower and the porch were added at a considerable interval and are of the 15th century. For some six centuries Pinner has nestled beneath the shadow of this fine old church. Our village street, in spite of many changes and innovations, retains the old-world character stamped on it in bygone ages, and the place has a long history. Although Pinner was not made a civil and ecclesiastical parish till 1766, when George III was king, there is evidence to show that it was a thriving community in the reign of Edward III, and the presence of this fine church proves that earlier still it was a place of some importance. From the days of William the Conqueror, Pinner seems to have been one of the chief constituents of that group of townships, manors, and hamlets, which made up the vast manor and parish of Harrow. The connection of Harrow with the See of Canterbury goes as far back as the 9th century. Until the time of the Conquest, however, that connection is obscure and intermittent. William I restored to Lanfranc (his Norman Primate) the lands in Middlesex which had been alienated from his See. Lanfranc built our Mother Church of St. Mary on Harrow Hill. St. Anselm consecrated it in spite of the attempt made by the Bishop of London to assert his episcopal rights. From that time forward for more than 500 years the

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Primates of all England were undisputed masters of that tract of land known as the Manor of Harrow, and ruled with absolute sway in all causes civil and ecclesiastical, saving only the prerogative of the Crown. This Archiepiscopal Manor of Harrow was something like a small province 35 miles in circumference, and covering an area of 12,000 acres (not counting common lands). Seven separate ecclesiastical parishes, each with its own church and vicar, now exist in what was once the huge parish of Harrow. All these are modern except Harrow and Pinner. Pinner up to the middle of the 18th century would be properly described as a hamlet or chapelry of Harrow, but the term hamlet gives a misleading notion of its size and importance, and of the measure of local self-government it enjoyed. In the Lambeth Library is a charter of Edward III granting to Pinner the privilege of a weekly market and two annual fairs (one of these fairs is still held annually on Whit-Wednesday); Pinner Church had always its own chaplain, its own wardens and keepers of the church goods. Pinner village had its own reeve, bailiffs, aletasters, bedel, and other officers responsible for the welfare and good conduct of the inhabitants to the archbishop or his steward. Since Mr. Hartshorne's paper on Headstone was written, fresh light has been thrown on the internal economy of the manor by the Rev. W. Done Bushell who has examined and published in his "Harrow Tracts" many original documents, and also by Mr. W. O. Hewlett, who has been through all the Court Rolls of the Manors of Harrow and Harrow Hill from the reign of Edward I to that of Elizabeth. The affairs of

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Pinner and of the other townships and hamlets on the archbishop's estate were not managed from Harrow as a centre, but at the Manor Courts, which sat periodically at different points within the circuit of the manor, the Court Baron once in three weeks, the Court Leet twice a year or oftener. Headstone Moat House (now in Pinner) was one of these points. It is in fact the only house on the estate which can now be identified with certainty as a manor house of the archbishops. Though Mr. Hartshorne thinks the archbishops did not make it their residence till the middle of the 14th century, we know they continued to do so for a hundred years from that date when they visited their estates in Middlesex. Archbishop Arundel writes from Headstone in 1407, and Archbishop Chicheley held a court at Pinner in 1435, while staying at Headstone.

A most interesting and instructive sketch of the history of Harrow Manor was contributed to Mr. Howson's and Mr. G. Townsend Warner's book on Harrow School, by Mr. W. O. Hewlett, in 1898. It was known to all antiquarian writers who investigated the past history of Harrow, that though some of the various estates on the archbishops' land came to be called manors in old deeds and registers (as for instance Headstone Manor, Roxeth Manor, Wood Hale Manor) they were manors only in name, and their tenants possessed no manorial rights of their own, but held under the archbishops, who were lords of the manor of Harrow. Mr. Hewlett, however, has discovered that, prior to the year 1240, there existed another manor within this manor of Harrow, which was called the Manor of the Rectory of Harrow Hill.

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This inner manor was coterminous (roughly speaking) with what we should now call Harrow proper, and its lord was the Rector of Harrow, who was appointed by the archbishop, and did fealty and suit of court to him as over-lord.* In his own manor the Rector had full manorial rights, holding his own courts, etc. Though an ecclesiastic, often of high rank, he had no cure of souls in the parish, but appointed a vicar for this office. The vicar would, most likely, in his turn appoint a priest to serve the chapelry of Pinner. The larger outer manor of Harrow, under the immediate jurisdiction of the archbishops, included besides Pynnor, Sudbury, Wembley, Alperton, Preston, Kenton, Uxenden, and Tokynton (where stood a chapel that seems to have been destroyed in the 16th century). The archbishops, though themselves only able to pay occasional visits to their manor, were represented by their stewards, who held courts at Harrow and at different places within the ambit of the manor. †

The tenants on a large manor like Harrow would include those who held their land by knight service, and became in course of time freeholders; villains, whose services to the lord were by degrees commuted for rent, and who eventually became copyholders, and borderers, or cottars, who held smaller portions of land, and whose services to the lord, though less accurately defined were of a menial sort. To the local courts of the manor all tenants, whether free or holding by base tenure, were summoned. The

* The Court Rolls are headed Harrow. The Court held these on Wednesday and Saturday.

† I believe they did regularly, but the actual *locus* has not been mentioned. Most likely in the manor house of the Rector, viz., Mr. Musgrave.

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Court Baron was for the free socage holders, who decided all matters relating to their own class, the steward being but the registrar of their plaints and of the decisions they arrived at. The Customary Court was for the villains, who held in that court the position of jurors, the lord or his steward acting as judge. The manor also possessed a Court Leet, which sat twice a year or oftener, for the trial of offenders, and passed sentence on all criminals, whether guilty of such misdemeanours as short measure, adulteration, etc., or of some capital offence. Archæologists need not to be reminded that for a long period, while parliamentary powers were weak and undefined, these courts were both popular and active. Though appeals were allowed from the Manor Court to the County, and from that again to the King's Courts, at Westminster, yet the whole business of police and local government was transacted in them, and they took cognisance of all the domestic and financial affairs of the manor. As Canon Denton has said : These manorial courts, as they existed in the 13th century, were legislative and executive assemblies, local police courts, courts for the recovery of debt, parish vestries, sewers courts, and family tribunals, and so in the main they continued till the 17th century.

By the kindness of Mr. Hewlett, of Harrow, I have been allowed to examine the extracts he has made of the Court Manor Rolls of Harrow, now in possession of Lady Northwick, which have never been printed. Pinner is frequently mentioned, and the following entries will be found curious and interesting.

A.D. 1384. [7 Richard II.] A surrender is recorded by John Lewin to John Honeywood of a

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messuage in Pynnor, under the condition that John Honeywood provide for John Lewin, during his life, every other year, a new woollen garment, and in every year a pair of boots, a pair of shoes, and a pair of woven linen shirts. Also a bed chamber, food and a bushel of apples.

1423. [2 Henry VI.] It is found by the Inquisition now taken, according to the custom of the manor, by oath, that on Thursday next before the Feast of St. Margaret last [July 13] one Joan, the daughter of Roger Webb, at Pynnor, suddenly fell into a certain vat of Edromell [Hydromell]* by which accident she died, and the aforesaid vat is valued at 2*s*., and herewith the Bailiff of the Liberty is charged. [The vat became the property of the lord as a deodand.]

1424. [3 Henry VI.] There is an election of tenants to make a new rental, the number of tenants in each hamlet being given. Pinner stands first, and has four.

1427. [5 Henry VI.] The chief pledges present that William Downer, Hereman Ducheman, William Roghed, and John Roberd were arrested at Pynner in a case of suspected felony, and imprisoned in Windsor Castle. Therefore precept is given to seize all their goods within the Lordship and keep them to the Lord's use until they have been acquitted by the Law of England.

1436. [14 Henry VI.] A surrender recorded by John Blake of lands at Pinnor to the use of Hugh Edelyn and Thomas Gardyner, the Wardens of the Chapel of Pynnore.

* Hydromell was a liqueur distilled from honey.

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1445. [24 Henry VI.] At this court nothing fell to the Lord for the pannage of the pigs of the tenants there because it is found by the tenants that no pannage happened there in the Lord's woods this year, and they also say that the woods are grievously devastated by reason of the timber having been felled for the building of the College of the Lord Henry Chichele, the late archbishop at Oxford. [All Souls' College.]

1472. [12 Edward IV.] Surrender by Avice Clerk of ten acres of land with the appurtenances thereof in Pinner to the use of Robert Alye, the Executor of the Will of William Fenton, late vicar of Harrow, to the intent that the said Executor shall sell the said ten acres at as high a price as possible, and dispose of the money arising therefrom, that is to say, five marks of silver thereof for the repair of the books in the chapel of Pynnor, and the residue of the money for hiring one honest priest to celebrate divine services in the said chapel of Pinnor for the soul of the aforesaid Avice and the souls of all the faithful dead.

1475. [15 Edward IV.] Surrender by Henry atte Street, of five selions of land with the appurtenances in Pynnor and Roxheth, to the use of Henry Payne and Thomas West, the keepers of the goods of the church or chapel of St. John Baptist, Pynnor, aforesaid.

1484. [2 Richard III.] The admission recorded of one of the wardens of the church or chapel of St. John Baptist, Pynnor, to premises in Pynnor, late of Thomas Gardner and Petronilla his wife, and formerly of Roger Roughead.

NOTE.—In the 1st year of Edward VI, at the suppression of chantries, these tenements were seized by the King's commissioners "for lack of evidence by whom they were given, and to what intent." Roll 34, Exchequer Augmentation Office.

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1488. [4 Henry VII.] Mention is made of Wolcey's tenement in Pinner, belonging to Thomas Peryman—this may account for the persistent tradition that connects Cardinal Wolsey's name with the Headstone Manor. Both Mr. Hartshorne and the Reverend W. D. Bushell deny that he had any connection with the manor of Harrow.

1492. [8 Henry VII.] A surrender recorded by John a'Bernys to the use of Robert Seffrey, chaplain, and John atte Strete, of a cottage in which the said Robert now dwells.

1501. [16 Henry VII.] A surrender recorded by Thomas Savage, clerk, of a garden in Pynnor street, to the use of John Nicholas, and his admission.

1505. [20 Henry VII.] The view of Frankpledge. The chief pledges of Pinner present that Ralph Gape keeps bad rule in his house by receiving a certain woman of evil disposition into his house to the common nuisance.

1518. [10 Henry VIII.] Precept to seize five selions of land in Pynnor fields, held by the Wardens of the church at Pynnor, but by what right the Homage know not.

1525. [17 Henry VIII.] The view of Frank Pledge with the court holden there on Wednesday, the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. The Homage present that Isabella, the late wife of John Crosse, tenant for the term of her life of one cottage with a garden adjoining, in Pynnor, parcel of a tenement of Richard Gille, and lying between the rectory barn and the land of John Marshall, late William Stevyns, and formerly of Richard Blackwell, of Edgware (as appears in the 21st year of

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Henry VII) died after the last court, and further they say that after the death of the aforesaid Isabella, the premises remain to the Wardens of the church of Pynnor for the time being and their heirs, to sell and dispose of the money arising from thence to find a chaplain to celebrate there for the soul of the said John Crosse, and the admission of the new Wardens of the church or chapel of Richard Redings and William Edlyn to the use aforesaid. A sale of the above premises by the said Wardens is recorded to Richard Edlyn at a court holden on the 18th February, 1527-28. [19 Henry VIII.]

1533. [25 Henry VIII.] View of Frank Pledge with the court holden May 9th. Also it is presented by the jury for the King, that John Stroder hath erected a certain dovecote in Pynnor to the nuisance of the inhabitants there, by the destruction of the corn of his neighbours. Therefore he is commanded to destroy the said dovecote before next Court, under pain of 40*s*.

1539. [30 Henry VIII.] Also they present that John Edlyn have or keep only one wool mark, and one brand upon his sheep. And that he do not keep more sheep upon the Lord's common there than according to his tenure, and that he remove his foreign sheep after the 1st of May next coming, under the pain of 40*s*.

1540. [32 Henry VIII.] Also they ordain that the Bedel cause to be read publicly, in the church of Harrow and in the chapel of Pynnor, at the time of mass or vespers, on Sunday, the pains contained in

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his estreats for the space of one month, under pain of 20*s.**

1552. [6 Edward VI.] A surrender recorded by John Burton the younger, of lands and premises in Pynnor to the use of his brother Richard, and the heirs of his body, with remainder to Thomas Burton, his brother, and his heirs, upon condition that the aforesaid Richard or Thomas shall pay to the wife of the said John Burton yearly 46*s.* 8*d.* for ten years next following, and that they expend upon the repair of roads with le gravelle, £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, viz., 40*s.* between Broksbridge Stone and Alperton, and another 6*s.* 8*d.* on the churchway of Roxhey.

Many a glimpse into the domestic life of our forefathers is afforded by such extracts as these. One in particular helps us to picture the aspect of the surrounding country at the time when this church had not long been completed by the erection of the tower. The County of Middlesex was for centuries a woodland district. Villages like ours were built on a clearance in the woods, and consisted of a street of houses standing in their gardens, occupied by the farmers, behind which was an area of meadow and arable land. Beyond this, forest stretched for miles. Archbishop Chicheley, it appears, cut down the great oaks to furnish timber for his College of All Souls (Oxford), and those trees have continued scarce in this district ever since, though it is still thickly wooded. There is a tradition that the great cross on our church tower was set up to guide people through the forest glades. This is quite possible, though we have no record of

* Probably this was a warning of the severe penalties contained in the Act of the Six Articles passed in 1539.

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the cross earlier than 1640, when it seems to have been restored. Another theory to account for its origin has been suggested by a member of your Society, namely, that the cross being the official emblem of the archbishop's rank, it was made a prominent feature in a church, built most likely by an archbishop, on his own land (was it Winchelsea ?) in order to emphasise the primate's claim of complete episcopal jurisdiction over a district which was territorially in the diocese of London.

The long connection of Pinner with the See of Canterbury must be considered as a piece of great good fortune to its inhabitants. No doubt the parish was deprived for a long period (nominally, though not in reality) of the independence, civil and ecclesiastical, to which its size and importance entitled it, and its early history is merged in that of its larger and more famous neighbour. But this nominal dependence and comparative obscurity was a trifling price to pay for the solid advantage of being under the protection of a potentate so powerful, wealthy, influential, and well-versed in public affairs as the Primate of all England in pre-Reformation days.

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HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE WORSHIPFUL SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES.

Read at Apothecaries' Hall, Tuesday, 27th October, 1898.

BY

CHARLES WELCH, Esq., F.S.A.,

Honorary Secretary.

IN the early days of the commercial history of our country the division of trades and occupations was not nearly so minute as in after times. In the later Tudor period and that of the Stuarts, a number of the smaller industries separated themselves from the larger and more general trades with which they had been associated and obtained charters of incorporation giving them the right of control over their own art or mystery. Among these occupations was that of the Apothecaries, which obtained separate existence by a charter granted to them in 1607, the 15th year of King James I. The members of this trade were previously enrolled in the Grocers' Company. That they existed as a distinct branch of trade whilst under the governance of the Pepperers of Sopers Lane and the Spicers of Cheap, who ultimately became the great Company of Grocers, appears from a record which informs us that "on the 10th of October, 1345, Edward III settled sixpence a day for life on Coursus de Ganzeland, Apothecarius, London, for taking care of him during his illness in Scotland."

From an early period dissensions appear to have arisen between the members of the Guild who were

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Apothecaries, and their brethren who traded in or possessed adulterated herbs "or such like apothecaries' wares." What weight the Apothecaries had in the government of the Grocers' Company does not appear, but in 1457 the Wardens obtained letters patent from King Henry VI granting them the exclusive right of garbling, *i.e.*, the cleansing or examining of spices and drugs and such like, to detect and prevent adulterations. In 1561 the Grocers' books record that "bags and remnantes of certain evil, naghte, pepper, syrnamed gynger, were to be burned." Again in the following year, 1562, "the Apothecaries, freemen of the Company," are ordered "not to use or exercise any drugs, simples or compounds, or any other kynde or sortes of poticarie wares but such as shall be pure and perfyt good." In 1612, Mr. Lownes, a member of the Company, who was in attendance on Prince Charles as apothecary to the Royal Household, performed a signal service to his brethren the Apothecaries. This eminent practitioner accused Michael Easen of having sold him "divers sortes of defective apothecarie wares which on trial were found to be defective, corrupt, and unwholesome for man's body." The Grocers' Company made a severe example of the offender by committing him to the Poultry Compter, but there is little doubt that this case, being brought under the immediate notice of the King, led him a few years later, viz., in 1617, to constitute the Apothecaries into a separate body.

The Grocers did not part with their professional brethren without a struggle, but James I, to whom they complained, took the responsibility of their

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incorporation directly upon himself. The King's answer to the complaints of the Grocers runs thus:

"I myself did devise that Corporation, and do allow it. The Grocers who complain of it are but merchants. The Mystery of these Apothecaries were belonging to the Apothecaries, wherein the Grocers are unskillful, and therefor I think it fitting they should be a corporation of themselves. They (the merchants) bring home rotten wares from the Indies, Persia, and Greece, and here, with their mixtures make waters and sell such as belong to the Apothecaries, and think no man must control them, because they are not Apothecaries."

It is curious that this Guild should alone among the seventy-seven existing Companies of the City of London receive the style of Society. Dr. Corfe,* to whom I am indebted for many of the following facts, says: "The special term of 'Society' thus given by His Majesty was no doubt intended to represent a similar body instituted at Naples in 1540, and the only Society then in existence, under the title of 'Societa Scientifica.' The next Society in the 17th century was our Royal body of that name, established in 1645, which received its charter in 1662."

The objects of the Society's charter, briefly stated, are:

1. To restrain the Grocers (the former Associates of the Apothecaries) or any other City Company from keeping an apothecary's shop or exercising the "art, faculty, or mystery of an apothecary within the City of London or a radius of seven miles."

* The Apothecary, ancient and modern, of the City of London. By George Corfe, M.D., London, 1897.

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2. To allow no one to do so unless apprenticed to an apothecary for seven years at least, and at the expiration of such apprenticeship such apprentice be approved and allowed by the Master and Wardens and representatives of the College of Physicians, before being permitted to keep an apothecary's shop or prepare, dispense, commix, or compound medicines.

3. To give the right of search within the City of London or a radius of seven miles of the shops of apothecaries or others and "prove" the drugs, and to examine within the same radius all persons "professing, using, or exercising, the art or mystery of apothecaries." Power was also conferred to burn "before the offenders doors" any unwholesome drugs, and to summon the offenders before the magistrates. Thus a member of the Society of Apothecaries and an apothecary of the City of London or within seven miles were convertible terms.

4. To buy, sell, or make drugs. As regards the fourth object prescribed by the charter, the Society, doubtless from its want of means, has never itself, until recent years, bought, sold, or made drugs, but owing to the great difficulty of its members obtaining pure drugs it allowed them to raise money themselves and create stock or shares for that purpose, and to carry on such trade in the name of the Society for their own personal profit as a private company or partnership under various titles. Owing to such trade having ended in a loss, this private partnership was agreed to be dissolved as from 31st December, 1880, and the Society has since carried on the trade at its own risk.

The authority thus granted the Society to regulate

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the admission of new practitioners and to supervise the entire faculty gradually resulted in the evolution of the apothecary as distinguished from the grocer's assistant and vendor of drugs. By apprenticeship and the subsequent system of examination was produced, as a final outcome, the medical practitioner.

It was through the joint solicitations of Dr. Mayerne and Dr. Aiken, physicians to James I, that this monarch was pleased to grant the Apothecaries a separate charter, whereby they were withdrawn from their associates the Grocers, in order to enable them to make up the physicians' prescriptions with greater nicety and accuracy. During the reign of George I they were exempted from serving on juries or in parish offices. They were and are obliged to prepare all their medicines according to the rules laid down in the Pharmacopœia of the College of Physicians. The legal right to visit the sick in their own houses or prescribe for them appears to have been acquired by the Apothecaries during the last great plague in London. Before this period the sick were mainly attended by physicians only, whose prescriptions were sent to the apothecary or grocer's shop, and there dispensed for the patients. But during this scourge a great majority of the regular physicians died, and many of the survivors fled into the country; thus the friends of the sick were forced to implore the aid of the apothecaries, who left their counter and came for the first time to the bedside of the sick.

Addison, in the "Spectator" (1711), reviewed the character of these apothecaries, and gave these physicians their just due in his delineation of "the nothingness" of their "recipes," and the hollowness

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of their public services when contrasted with the surgeon-apothecaries of his time, whom he praises for their unselfish care of and kindness to the poor.

Garth, Pope, and Dryden have severally held up this Battle of the Doctors (*vide* Jeaffreson's Book about Doctors) to public ridicule :

> Nigh where Fleet Ditch descends in sable streams,
> To wash the sooty Naiads in the Thames,
> There stands a structure on a rising hill,
> Where tyros take their freedom out to kill.
>
> *Garth's Dispensary.*

Pope follows in a similar sarcasm :

> So modern 'pothecaries taught the art
> By doctors' bills to play the doctor's part.
> Bold in the practice of mistaken rules,
> Prescribe, apply, and call their masters fools.

An eminent member of the Society, and its greatest benefactor, was Gideon De Laune, a wealthy merchant and apothecary, and Pharmacien or Apothecary to Anne of Denmark, the wife of James I, whom he gallantly brought from over the seas to this country. He called himself Pharmacopœius, an importer and dispenser of medicines. He lived in Blackfriars, where he established Apothecaries' Hall, and died at the age of ninety-seven, in the year 1659, being buried with other members of his family in St. Ann's, Blackfriars. He is said to have died with "near as many thousand pounds as he was years, having thirty-seven children by one wife and about sixty grandchildren at his funeral."

Pepys, in his diary, under the date of 29th December, 1662, narrates a tragic event in the history of the next generation of this family: "To Westminster Hall, where I staid reading at Mrs. Mitchell's

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shop, she told me what I had not heard of before, the strange burning of Mr. De Laune, a merchant's house in Loathbury, and his lady (Sir Thos. Allen's daughter) and her whole family, not one thing, dog nor cat, escaping; nor any of the neighbours almost hearing of it till the house was quite burnt down. How this should come to pass, God knows, but a most strange thing it is!" Only four years afterwards the remains of the previous generations of the De Launes were incinerated in the destruction of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, during the great fire. A Thomas De Laune, gent., perhaps one of the thirty-seven children above mentioned, published, in 1681, the well-known and quaint little volume "The present state of London." It is worthy of mention that Paul De Laune, a brother of Gideon, who was a Cambridge graduate and a practising physician, was one of the compilers of the Pharmacopœia Londinensis, which first appeared in 1618.

The Society's Physic Garden at Chelsea dates back, in Dr. Corfe's opinion, to the reign of James I.

John Evelyn writes in his diary in June, 1658: "I went to visit the medical garden at Westminster well stocked with plants under Morgan, a skilful botanist." The garden was afterwards (in 1673) transferred to its present locality in Cheyne Walk, the ground being obtained on lease from the family of Charles Cheyne. In 1722 this garden was bequeathed to the Society of Apothecaries by Sir Hans Sloane, and has since been kept up by them at a considerable expense. A custom formerly prevailed of holding a public or general "Herborising" (*i.e.*, botanical excursion) once a year, when a dinner was provided at

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the expense of at least ten stewards nominated by the Court of Assistants.

It may be well here to complete the main facts in the history and constitution of the Society. By the Apothecaries' Act of 1815, the Society extended so greatly the powers it already had under its charter as to effect not only a revolution in their own sphere of operations, but also in the medical profession, and in the relations subsisting between the latter and the general public.

This Act created a court of twelve examiners, to be appointed by the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants, who were to examine all candidates for the licentiateship in England and Wales as to their skill and ability in the science and practice of medicine, and five examiners to examine assistants for the compounding and dispensing of medicine. It authorized the Society to receive fees for granting the respective licences, and "saving the rights of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons" it empowered the Society to recover penalties for practising or compounding without such licences.

By an amending Act of 1874 two important restrictions were removed, namely, (1) the obligation of the twelve examiners being members of the Society, and being of at least ten years' standing, and (2) of candidates for examination having served an apprenticeship of five years to an apothecary. Briefly stated, the effect of the Act of 1815 was to make the Society of Apothecaries one of the three great medical licensing bodies for England and Wales, and that of the Act of 1874 was to throw open the Society's examinerships, and to confer on it a freedom

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in reference to future medical reform to an extent not exceeded by any other body.

The members of the Society claimed even from the date of their charter the right to practise medicine. This right, which was strongly denied by the College of Physicians, received legal sanction in 1701 by the decision of the House of Lords in the case of "Rose *v.* College of Physicians." A carefully conducted enquiry was made several years before the Society received its Act in 1815 as to the number of individuals who were practising medicine with or without any special previous education in this science. In four districts in the North of England alone, of 266 persons so practising, only fifty-eight had received any education, the others were wholly ignorant of the rudiments of anatomy and physiology, and consequently without any real knowledge of medicine in its various branches. The Society also justly claims the credit of having insisted on a knowledge of Latin at its preliminary examination, and of thus having raised the standard of general education of candidates for a professional qualification.

It is time to turn to the inner life of the Company, and here I must regret that the very short time allowed me for the preparation of the paper has prevented me from fully availing myself of the permission kindly granted by the Master of searching the ancient records of the Society. All that I could glean during the few available hours of the present week I will lay before you, and I have no doubt that although very much more remains to be told, I shall have said sufficient for my purpose on the present occasion. The Society is fortunate in having saved its records from the

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destruction caused by the great fire of London, the earliest Court minute book commencing with the origin of the Society on the 16th of December, 1617. On that day the Master, Wardens, and Assistants took their oaths at Gray's Inn before the Attorney General, Mr. Dr. Atkins, and Mr. Dr. Meyer, King's physicians, being thereunto authorized under the great seal of England. On the same day a Clerk and a Beadle were appointed, and one person duly admitted to the Freedom. At the next Court, in April, 1618, the Assistants were ordered by consent to pay £15 each towards the charges of the Company, one of them offering £30 and three others £20 each; at the same Court all the Assistants were ordered to prepare for themselves by 1st May next, Livery gowns faced with satin and welted with velvet. To remedy some slackness in carrying out this order the Court further ordered on 21st January, 1622, that all Assistants whose gowns were not of the required pattern should cause them to be translated and made suitably to the prescription of the said order. On the 29th June, 1618, an order was passed that all the Company should have the new Dispensatorie and Troy Weights. On the 18th August the staff was apparently completed by the choice of James Grace as Cook for the Company.

The first Search under the powers of their Charter for defective and bad medicines was made on the 9th September following, and on 22nd September divers persons were brought before the Master and Wardens for this offence, among others one named Hanch, a Weaver, and one Colwell, who upon his acknowledgment that he was not able to make compositions was ordered thereafter neither to make nor

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sell any more medicines. Notwithstanding the liberality of the members of the Court the balance sheet came out very badly on the 24th September, viz.:—Income £100 18*s.*, disbursements £179 9*s.* 3*d.*, due to Mr. Sheriffe £74 11*s.* 5*d.*

In the course of a dispute between a master and his apprentice, tried by the Master and Wardens on 20th October, the terms of the indentures provided that the apprentice should serve for three years and receive £6 per annum, with a singular addition of the outside of a new sute and one ould sute. On the 17th November, among other returns ordered by the Court to be prepared, was a schedule of all medicines proper to the art of an apothecary. This interesting document has unfortunately not been entered upon the minutes. The Company at this early time rigidly enforced their examination, which was doubtless of a more practical character than that which candidates have to face at the present day. On the 19th August, 1619, a delinquent was ordered to serve for a year as journeyman with some brother and then submit himself again for examination. On 7th December, Mr. E. was fined £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for dispensing his London Triacle without public view. The same individual was fined £6 13*s.* 4*d.* for selling defective Mithridate, but the charge was afterward withdrawn and the fine remitted.

A curious view of social habits is given by the order in the same month of December for the Assistants to meet on Friday next at 6 in the morning in Paules for paying their quarterage. The Company at this time had no hall, and deserves credit for their shrewdness in obtaining a place of meeting

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without charge. If this practice was followed to any extent by other public bodies, Paules Walk in the old Cathedral must have been a veritable Royal Exchange. With the return of spring the sluggish hour of 6 a.m. was replaced by 5 in the morning, Paules again being the meeting place. On 12th October, 1620, the Company were consulting how to repress the abuses committed by the makers and distillers of hot waters and the makers of emplasters and conserves.

On 15th December a house in Foster Lane was bought and added to one adjoining already belonging to the Company for use as a Hall, each member to contribute at a fixed rate. The money for the new Hall came in slowly, and in August, 1621, Painter Stainers' Hall was hired as a place of meeting for £10 per annum. The Company of Grocers were also building a hall, and differences continued to exist between the two bodies on this and other matters, the Grocers claiming contributions from the Apothecaries. On 11th March, 1621, an order made by the Lords Commissioners appointed by the King to end the difference between the two Companies was duly enrolled.

On 19th December, 1622, Mr. Warden Harris was appointed to buy a sugar loaf, as a gift from the Company to Mr. Isack Cotton, the Registrar of the Star Chamber Office. The significance of this gift appears by an entry of the 2nd May, 1623, concerning a dispute in the Star Chamber between the Grocers and the Apothecaries, the latter complaining that the grocers sold by retail conserve of Barbary, conserve of roses, and divers other things mentioned in

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the Schedule of the Apothecaries. On 27th May it was resolved that each freeman on his admission should make a gift of a spoon, a practice which prevailed in many of the other Companies. The dispute with the Grocers went to Parliament, and the Assistants were rated 40*s.* a piece towards the expenses.

My excerpts from the Society's records must conclude with an important entry relating to the severe outbreak of the Plague in 1625. On 2nd June, 1625, "It is ordered that forasmuch as there is great use of Methridatt, Theriaca Andromache, Diascordium and Theriaca Londinensis in this time of infection & that there is somethings wanting that goe into those compositions which are not yet to be had as Cassia Lignea in Methridat and Diascordium as also in Theriaca Andromache that instead of that (if that the College of Phisicons do allow it) there shallbe substituted Sinamon so that this order shall continue but for one year. And if in that time any Cassia Lignea come that is good and so much as shall make 1000m weight of Methridat pr. (powder ?), then this to be voyd afterwards, for so much of that quantity shallbe supplied with Sinamon and that no brother of the C° shall make w^out^ Cassia Lignea above 2 the w receipte of Methridat & once the receipt of Diascordium and once the receipt of Theriaca Andromache & shall pay for a fine to the use of the Company 12^d.^ upon a pound for so much as he makes without Cassia Lignea & that the Colledge of Phiſsions be consulted about a substitute for Semina Citri which are awanting in Theriaca Londinensis."

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THE CRYPTS OF THE GUILDHALL.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held in the Guildhall, Saturday, 26th March, 1904.

BY

W. R. LETHABY, Esq.

THE Guildhall is eight bays long, the half of this, exactly four bays, is occupied by the eastern crypt. The western crypt occupies a similar space, minus the wall of division, which is entirely situated on the western half. The eastern crypt is vaulted in four long bays, coinciding with the bays of the hall above, and thus about 19 feet from centre to centre of pillars. The spans transversely are less, being about 15 feet. This crypt is a very handsome piece of work: the 19 feet span of the vaulting is unusually large and indeed unmatched except in a cathedral. It must have been intended to serve as a secondary hall of considerable importance. Evidence to a similar effect is given by the fact that the pillars are of Purbeck marble, not only because of the intrinsic worth of the material, but because it was evidently selected as an efficient weight bearer. If the pillars for these large spans had been of ordinary stone they would have had to be of considerable size and would have blocked the space, and this it is clear it was desired to avoid.

If the records were searched I should think it probable that some reference to the use of this fine hall would be found.

My measurements of the western crypt show that it was divided into five bays long, each bay being about 15 feet long as compared to the 19 feet of the

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eastern crypt. It was completely vaulted, having been three spans wide like the eastern crypt. Each compartment of the western crypt was thus about square, and of more normal proportions than the eastern vaults.

In examining the bay on the north side, which is most easily accessible, the half octagonal pier which is seen directly to the right of the window is the wall pier of this vault, and the springers of the ribs are attached to its top. The portions of similar piers seen to the right of this and to the left of the window are piers built out to support the wall piers of the Guildhall itself. These come about 19 feet apart, while the wall piers for the crypt vault are spaced at distances of about 15 feet as already said. The piers of the two sets as they are seen in the several cellars, thus occur in different relation to one another in each bay.

As to the question of date, I have no doubt that the two cyrpts are contemporary. The western end, while it must have been a fine crypt, was built in a simpler way than the eastern one, and the length was divided into five parts so as to give square vault compartments instead of into the four very long spans of the eastern crypt. These wall piers, which must have been built in preparation for the bays of the great hall, are of similar work to the wall piers of the crypt vaults themselves, and are equally bonded into the walls. Moreover, the wall rib of the vault where it comes into connection with the piers under those of the great hall, are clearly of one work with them. The indications of date furnished by the few details also confirm this view.

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There is one entire window in the west wall. The windows were of two-lights, they were barred and rebated for shutters on the inside, but apparently not glazed. They are pushed up higher than the vaulting rib in order to give more light, a treatment usual in crypts or rather under crofts. The position of the western window and the two intermediate buttresses of the west front confirm what has been said as to this west crypt having been vaulted in three spans transversely. Probably a wall pier against the west wall would be found in the north-west cellar, which I could not enter.

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THE IRONMONGERS' COMPANY, ITS HALL, RECORDS, PLATE, LIBRARY, ETC.

Address at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held at Ironmongers' Hall, Tuesday, January 12th, 1904.

BY

EDWARD HADHAM NICHOLL, Esq.,

Master 1890, and Hon. Librarian of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers.

THIS Ironmongers' Hall in which we are now assembled is believed to be at least the third hall which has stood on this site. The history of our first hall or halls is exceedingly obscure. All we know for certain is that the site was acquired for the Company in 1457, Henry VI's reign, but whether our brethren built a new hall at that time or whether they utilized some existing structure which is supposed may have been on the site, or whether even prior to this time they had a hall, we do not know. In the absence of any information to the contrary, we will suppose that our first hall came into being somewhere about 1457, in Henry VI's reign. The second hall dates from 1587, reign of Queen Elizabeth. Of neither of these halls have we any drawings or plans, but we may reasonably suppose they would have been timber structures.

Our second hall witnessed two great national calamities, the Great Plague of 1664-5, and the Great Fire of 1666. Our hall, from which the valuables had previously been removed, was not burned down, but for three days it was in grave peril, and was doubtless much scorched, as considerable repairs were executed after the fire. This second hall lasted

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till about 1745, when the third hall, this present building, was taken in hand, George II's reign. This present hall is a quadrangular, brick built, stone fronted building, in what is generally termed the Palladian style, and possesses some very good features. The vestibule with its groined ceiling and columns is much admired, but the centre of attraction is this banqueting room in which we are now assembled. Observe the beautiful ceiling, the walls hung with the portraits of many of our distinguished past members, the dado filled with the arms of our past masters, as far as we have been able to secure them, the earliest dating from 1351, and the rich warm tone and colouring which pervades every part, all which combine to make a most beautiful room, and one which for general pleasing effect is not surpassed in this City of London.

Permit me now to call your attention to some of our past worthies whose portraits are before us. The large picture on the left is that of Lord Viscount Exmouth, who received honorary membership for his brilliant victory at Algiers in 1816, when he broke the power of Moslem slavery. The painting is by Sir William Beechey. The next picture is Lord Viscount Hood, who received honorary membership for brilliant services in 1782. The painting is by Gainsborough.

The next picture by the doorway is our great benefactor Thomas Betton, whose memory we Ironmongers delight to honour; his magnificent charities have brought untold benefits to hundreds of Church schools for long years past. The painting is by Philip Mercier. The large picture on the other side of the doorway is Sir Robert Geffery, a Lord Mayor of

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London, twice master of this Company, and a great benefactor. He left property to this Company to build and endow almshouses, which resulted in the erection of those handsome almshouses, in the Kingsland Road, fourteen houses and a chapel, to which has been added of late years the Victoria room, built by the Company from its corporate funds in memory of our late good Queen, and also for the comfort and enjoyment of the pensioners. Sir Robert Geffery is believed to have been of Cornish extraction, as he left gifts to that county, and also a considerable sum to Landrake in Cornwall for the promotion of religious education, which resulted in the formation of a good school, now in a flourishing condition and annually visited and inspected by members of this Company. He died in 1703, at the ripe age of 91, and was buried in the church of St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street; when that church was pulled down, his remains, with those of his wife, were removed to the little burying ground attached to the Company's almshouses in the Kingsland Road, where also, close by, is the tomb of our other great benefactor, Thomas Betton, who was buried there in 1724 in accordance with his own will. With reference to this church of St. Dionis, it may be added that it was built by Wren on the foundations of the previous church, destroyed in the great fire. It was an interesting building with a good stone tower, and its unfortunate removal robbed us of another of London's historic landmarks.

The last picture to which I will refer is that over the gallery, Izaak Walton, the author of that charming English classic "The Compleat Angler." It is a copy of Houseman's celebrated picture in the National

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Gallery. It is pleasant to remember that the gentle fisherman was a member of this ancient guild. On the front of the gallery there are three coats of arms, which are those of the Blacksmiths, the Founders; they and the Tinplate Workers all representing allied trades and were placed there by those Companies at their particular request to signify their appreciation of benefits received from this Company. We have on several occasions had the pleasure of lending some portion of our hall to the Blacksmiths and Founders for exhibitions of their crafts, and to the Tinplate Workers for their annual festival.

The selection of plate contains little that is ancient, and that for reasons probably well known. Our monarchs in earlier times made such frequent requisitions on the Companies, that it was often necessary to sell or pawn the plate, and hence it is that, with some few exceptions, the London Livery Companies possess very little ancient plate. We have, however, two mazer bowls of the 15th century, a pair of parcel-gilt silver salts, hour glass pattern, of the 16th century, and a cocoanut cup or hanap, also of the 16th century. The monteith and two pilgrims bottles were presented by the Corporation of London, and the Livery Companies of Brewers, Scriveners, Pewterers, Barbers, and Carpenters associated with us in the management of our Irish estates, in recognition of the kindness, courtesy and hospitality extended to them at this hall during many years. The four handsome loving cups with baluster stems are known as the Humfreys, the Lane, the Thorold, and the Westwood Cups, those being the names of their respective donors. The Humfreys cup is the oldest.

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Sir William Humfrey was master in 1705. A pair of silver candlesticks with branches was presented by Alderman John Shakespear, master in 1769-70, supposed to be a connection of the immortal bard, his arms being identically the same. The carved oak snuff box bears on the lid in silver gilt the arms and crest of the Company, which is the ancient badge formerly worn by the Company's bargemaster. Three rosewater dishes and two ewers of 1784 are handsome and worthy of note, also the silver gilt ewer presented by Frederick William Manson, master in 1902-3, from whom we also received two other pieces of plate, and a piece of old Nuremberg iron-work.

The books displayed are a selection from the Company's library. Particular attention is called to the following: "The Manuscript History of the Ironmongers' Company," by John Nicholl, in six volumes royal folio, the same history as printed and circulated among the members; the "Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibits of Antiquities and Works of Art held at Ironmongers' Hall in 1861," said to have been one of the finest ever held in London, and the precursor of the 1862 loan collection at South Kensington. The exhibition was visited by Prince Albert and other persons of eminence, and this splendid work was compiled by the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, and although that Society's invaluable services were duly acknowledged at that time, still it is a source of much pleasure again to recall these matters, as probably there are not many of the Archæologists or Ironmongers left to us who took part in those

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proceedings. It is some satisfaction to know that those priceless labours will never be lost, they are enshrined in this magnificent work, which will be handed down to all time as a monument of the Society's achievements in the past.

"The Compleat Angler," by Izaak Walton, in two volumes, edition de luxe. "Drawings of Iron Work," by John Tijou, 1693, and by Fordrin, 1723. "Remarks on Timber Houses," by the late Charles Baily, Master in 1874, and uncle of our present esteemed Master. "Annals of St. Olave's, Hart Street," by the late Rector, Dr. Povah, an interesting work, and nicely illustrated. St. Olave's is now the Company's parish church; formerly it was All Hallows Staining, of which only the tower standing in an enclosed grave-yard is now left: the body of the church became ruinous and was taken down, and in 1870 the parish was annexed to St. Olave's, which then became the Company's parish. On one day in the year this Company makes a formal visit to its parish church, *i.e.*, on Master's Day, or Confirmation Day, as it is otherwise called, being the day on which the newly elected master and wardens are confirmed in their offices. Immediately after the business of the court, the Company proceeds to its parish church for service and a sermon by the chaplain, and although that service may possibly be but a faint reflection of the more stately services which in earlier times we have reason to believe our brethren took part in, still it enables the Company to preserve and keep alive a most laudable custom, which it is hoped will never be allowed to fall into abeyance.

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The following selection from the Company's old office books will be found of interest:

Book of Orders, 1498.

Presentment Book, 1515; the same of 1680 (still in use).

Court Minute Book, 1555.

Cash Book, 1593.

Quarterage Book, 1602.

Irish Estate Minute Book, 1609.

Ancient Orders of the Yeomanry, 1590.

And finally your attention is called to the Company's first Charter of Edward IV, 1463.

Charter of Confirmation by Philip and Mary, 1558

Grant of Arms, Henry VI, 1455.

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NOTE ON A HENRI-DIANE CASKET.

Exhibited and described at a Meeting of the Society, held at the Ironmongers' Hall, 12th January, 1904.

BY

GEORGE HUBBARD, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,

Surveyor to the Ironmongers' Company.

THE casket is of wood, and bears the well-known monogram of Henri-Diane in the Gesso work, together with the double D's in the Gesso work on the lid. The initial letter "H" of Henri II of France, surmounted by the Crown, may be seen on the silver mountings at the angles of the box, and the *fleur-de-lis* may be seen on the silver mountings at the angles of the lid.

When the box came into the possession of the present owner, the underside of the bottom of the box was covered with a piece of old leather, now preserved between two sheets of plate glass. As this leather did not appear to be of the same period as the box itself, it was removed, and on the original leather at the bottom of the box a very fine monogram of Henri-Diane was discovered surrounded by four bows emblematical of the goddess Diana, together with four groups of interlacing crescents.

In the silver work of the box may also be discovered the bows, and the interlacing crescents appear in the silver panels both at the front and back of the box. The suggested reason for the semi-oriental appearance of the casket was accounted for by the authorities at the Louvre in Paris in the following manner: The box was originally made in Paris, and was then sent out probably to Venice, where Oriental workmen had instructions to complete and decorate it.

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CITY ARCHÆOLOGY: A RETROSPECT AND A GLANCE FORWARD.

Read at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held at Ironmongers' Hall, Tuesday, 12th January, 1904.

BY

CHARLES WELCH, Esq., F.S.A.,

Honorary Secretary.

THE approaching Jubilee of our Society affords a suitable opportunity for a review of the progress of archæology in the City of London during the past fifty years. This Society may claim to be one of the earliest local archæological societies of which there are so many, each doing excellent work, at the present day. Whilst the Society of Antiquaries and the other two large societies, the Archæological Institute and the British Archæologial Society, dealt with archæology in its wider sense, it was not till the year 1855 that a society was specially established to occupy the rich field which London and Middlesex present to the antiquary. If it is true that London streets are paved with gold, it is equally true that her paving stones and the dust beneath them can a story unfold, which, if read aright, will tell more truly than written chronicles the story of the doings of London and its citizens through ages long since passed.

Previous to 1855, this great field was occupied only by solitary workers whose labours were not only independent of, but often clashed with, those of each other. The advantage of co-operation in these studies was seen by a few earnest City antiquaries,

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such as the Rev. Thomas Hugo, Dr. W. H. Black, Mr. Alfred White, Mr. J. G. Waller, who, in 1855, established the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. The objects of this Society were defined as follows:

To collect and publish the best information on the ancient arts and monuments of London and Middlesex, including primeval antiquities, architecture, painting, civil and legal antiquities, heraldry, genealogy, costume, numismatics, charitable foundations, records, etc. To encourage and record the results of investigation of excavations for railways, foundations of buildings, etc. To oppose and prevent as far as possible the removal of or injury to monuments or ancient remains which may from time to time be threatened. To hold meetings for reading papers, and exhibition of antiquities to illustrate subjects connected with the purposes of the Society.

These objects have been consistently kept in view. One of its first public functions, only six years after the Society's formation, was the arrangement of a Loan Exhibition of works of art, held by the kind permission of the Ironmongers' Company, and with the cordial co-operation of its members in this beautiful hall in which we are now assembled. To this exhibition, *almost*, if not *actually* the first of its kind, the Master has already alluded. It shed a lustre both upon the Company through whose generosity it became a possibility, and upon the Society whose work it did so much to advance. We now, after a lapse of over forty years, meet here once more, a new generation of us, both Company and Society, and in view of approaching changes

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we may say *Te morituram saluamus.* In but a few years there will arise Phœnix-like from the ashes of the present building, which has been so excellently described by Mr. Nicholl, another hall of fair estate more useful to this great Guild, and more worthy of the historic treasures which it will be its purpose to enshrine.*

Another object, not specifically included in the above, was the education of the public mind, and more particularly of the citizens of London, in a love for archæological studies, the value of relics of past ages as historical evidences, and that sympathy which would prompt to the preservation of objects of archæological interest which were in danger of loss or destruction. To this latter object meetings such as that we are privileged to be present at this evening, have very largely contributed. The generosity of the great City Companies in throwing open their halls to receive the members of the Society and their friends on these "off nights" as they may be called, have contributed far beyond their apparent result in fostering a love of archæology in the minds of guests of various rank and station in City life. A visit to one of these noble halls with its priceless treasures of antiquity is in itself an archæological education. In several instances the visit of the Society to a Company's hall, and the papers read upon its history, have led to the preparation of a printed history of the Company.

A comparison between the popular appreciation of archæological pursuits at the present day and

* The necessity for rebuilding Ironmongers' Hall, which then appeared inevitable, has now happily disappeared. C. W., December, 1904.

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the prevailing opinions of fifty years ago will show how notable is the advance that has been made. A gentleman who pleaded for the better preservation of the City's records and their publication would not now be accused of "poking his nose into mediæval dustbins," as was Mr. Orridge by the late Sir John Bennett, somewhere in the sixties. On the contrary, the taste for archæological pursuits has become so general as to be at times quite embarrassing. Keepers of museums are inundated by youths and persons of older years, who wish to know the value of their collections of coins, which usually consist of battered copper money of the later Georgian period, modern coins of Russia, China, etc., 18th century tradesmen's tokens, and a few Roman third brass of commonest type thrown in to give the necessary flavour of antiquity. The private collector who acts on his or her own judgment also falls an easy victim to the Whitechapel forgeries made by Flanagan and his associates about forty years ago. These fearful objects, which most frequently take the shape of discs or flattened out medals with loops for suspension, bear the rudest of effigies surrounded by the wildest combination of letters and figures. They might very suitably be offered by some enterprising journal as subjects for prize competition, as no solution of their meaning could by any possibility be found. One of these precious objects is exhibited by Colonel Pearson this evening as a useful guide to the unwary collector. But to the private collector, nevertheless, the cause of archæology is greatly indebted for its advance in special departments. It is to his efforts that our museums are largely indebted for their most

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precious possessions. The late Mr. John Walker Baily, a household name in this Company, borne too by the Master who has graciously received us this evening, is an admirable example of the private collector. The archæological treasures gathered by that distinguished antiquary have found a suitable home in the Guildhall Museum.

With regard to the preservation of ancient monuments, one or two considerations suggest themselves. Whilst it is highly important to save our ancient City landmarks from loss or destruction, it is, I venture to think, of still greater importance to preserve them *in situ*. A notable instance is that of the Boy in Panier Alley. The house on which this well-known London monument is fixed, has lately been pulled down, and many were the enquiries which I received as to when the stone would be removed to the Guildhall Museum. Having been consulted upon its disposal, I strongly urged that it should be restored in the new building to a position identical if possible with that which it occupied in the old. This course is not, of course, always possible, and the next best is to preserve such relics in a public museum, where they are not only safely preserved, but are also available for comparison with objects of a like character.

Much may yet be done to help in this direction, as there are still many old house signs, property marks, and street names, still existing in London which are in danger of being carted away as rubbish when the houses on which they are fixed are demolished. Another piece of archæological work, on behalf of which the voice of the antiquary should be urgently raised, is the preservation of old deeds, and

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especially old plans, relating to City property. When we consider what a great destruction of public records was made by the Great Fire of London, the importance of rescuing all that remains of historic interest will be readily recognised. These documents are for the most part of no legal value as evidences of title at the present day, and are in constant danger of wholesale destruction when lawyers' offices and private muniment chests have to be cleared of so-called rubbish.

Another work of pressing need is the publication of the parish registers of City churches. A good start has been made in this direction by the Harleian Society and by private editors, Mr. Hovenden, the Rev. W. C. Hallen, Mr. Briggs, and others, but the great majority of the registers still exist only in their original manuscript form, with all the attendant risks. It seems unnecessary to emphasise the importance of this work, as the citizens of London have been founders of families throughout the English-speaking world. The only satisfactory way of accomplishing the work is probably the formation of a separate society for this special purpose.

Perhaps the most pressing need of London archæology in its present stage is the tabulation and arrangement of results already obtained, which are scattered through so many publications and public and private collections. Could some systematising genius be found among the London antiquaries like, say, Mr. Charles Booth, there is no question that the result of his labours would be to save the waste of duplicate effort, to replace in many quarters fable by fact, to present the true problems that await

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solution, and to furnish in an accessible form all the evidence available for their determination.

I must apologise for this imperfect sketch, but this is neither the time nor the place for a detailed survey of the progress of London archæology, or of the work of this Society.

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ANGLO-SAXON LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.

THIRD PAPER.

Read at a Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held at the London Institution, Finsbury Circus, on Friday, 20th February, 1903.

BY

T. W. SHORE, Esq., F.G.S.,

Honorary Secretary,

and Hon. Organising Secretary of the Hampshire Archæological Society.

IN this paper, I propose to refer chiefly to traces of Anglo-Saxon life and archæology in Middlesex. Time has been powerless altogether to obliterate them, and whether we recognise them or not, they are present with us. As, however, the connection between London and Middlesex is so ancient that no date can be given for its beginning, Middlesex in this respect cannot be considered apart from the archæology and history of the City.

The boundaries of the county were determined mainly by natural features, the Thames on the south, the Lea on the East, the Colne or its brooks on the west, and a ridge of high land for the most part on the north. The bridge at Staines, the Old Ford over the Lea, the north gate of Enfield Chase, and Waltham Cross were on the early boundaries of Middlesex. There existed, however, in this county during the Saxon age certain large areas which were in it, but not of it, and which were under separate jurisdiction from the rest of the county, viz., those extensive manors that belonged respectively to the archbishop and his monks at Canterbury, the Bishop of London and his canons at St. Paul's, and the Abbey at

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Westminster. All these had seignorial jurisdiction, and the charters show that whatever words may have been used to confer this authority in the earlier Saxon age, it existed. It is beyond the scope of a paper to attempt a full description of Saxon life in Middlesex or in the City. The traces of it which exist, are in many instances like wreckage, which have come down to us from the break up of an ancient form of society, and the decay of an ancient language. London has in the course of a thousand years seen many great changes, but not a greater one than in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the Anglo-Saxon tongue ceased to be spoken. It was then the old language died, many words of which we still use, in another sense, or as personal names only, such as spinstre, brewstre, webestre, and bakestre, all of which in Saxon London and Middlesex denoted women following well-known occupations. As regards Middlesex, the earliest grants of lands in it, by the Saxon kings, of which the charters, or early copies of them, have been preserved, range in date from A.D. 687 to the end of the 8th century. Some of the estates, for example, held by Westminster Abbey, were certainly in its possession centuries before the end of the Saxon period. These estates comprised the manors of Staines, Sunbury, Shepperton, Greenford, Hanwell, Cowley, Kingsbury, and Hendon, as well as the great manor close to the Abbey itself, all of which were within one jurisdiction.

Similarly the estates held by the bishop and canons of St. Paul's in Middlesex during the Saxon period comprised the manors of Twyford, Willesden, Stepney, Harlesden, Rugemere, St. Pancras, Islington,

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Fulham, Hoxton, Newton, Drayton, and Stanestaple, as well as Soke of St. Paul's within the City, all of which were within another jurisdiction.

Another abbey which held an estate close to the City was the Anglo-Saxon Nunnery of Barking, to which the manor of Tyburn belonged, and which was practically the same as Marylebone. What is now Regent's Park was part of Marylebone Fields, and as the old manorial name "Fields" denotes common arable land, we arrive at the conclusion that what is now Regent's Park must have been part of the common land of the Saxon manor of Tyburn. One of the most interesting considerations in reference to the topography of Anglo-Saxon London and its suburbs, is the origin of the name Westminster. In Domesday Book it is called "The vill in which the abbey of St. Peter is situated," but very soon afterwards it became generally called Westminster. The origin of this name was clearly a popular one. It was the common name by which the abbey was known to the Saxon people of London, and later on it became its general designation. The abbey land extended over what is now the City of Westminster and the parts of London immediately east of it, *i.e*, from the boundaries of Kensington and Chelsea on the west, to the old City boundaries on the east, and as far north as Oxford Street, the wide "here stret" mentioned in king Eadgar's charter.

Thorney Island, on which the Abbey of St. Peter was built, was one of those fluviatile islands in the Thames, of which Bermondsey, Battersea, and the island known as Suthereye in the Saxon period, are examples on the south side of the river.

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Thorney Isle is said from a survey made, to have been about 470 yards long and 370 yards wide. On the east side of it was the Thames, and on the west side a watercourse known as the Long Ditch, but which in Anglo-Saxon time was called Merfleote. In the boundaries of the abbey land, mentioned in the charter of king Eadgar, and which now forms practically the City of Westminster, Merfleotes or Merfleote is the starting place of the perambulation, and the place at which the circuit of the bounds finish, after passing from the City bounds by the Thames, "up on middan streame, and be lande and be strande eft on Merfleote."*

It is sometimes taken for granted by writers who have not looked into the evidence of the early charters, that Westminster Abbey owed its origin to Edward the Confessor, the last of the Saxon kings. That king was its later benefactor. The Abbey existed nearly three centuries before the date of his death, as is shown by a charter of Offa, dated A.D. 785, in which he granted to the Abbey of St. Peter, land in Hertfordshire.†

Two centuries later, in 959, King Eadgar granted, or confirmed a previous grant to the Abbey, the land between Tyburn and St. Andrew's Church in Holborn, and in this charter the Cowford, the place I think afterwards called Knyghtsbridge, the Roman Way called the herestret, now Oxford Street, and the Old Stoke, at the bottom of what was then Holborn Hill, are mentioned.‡ There is also a charter in which Eadgar gave land to the Abbey at a place called

* Cartularium Saxonicum, III, 692.

† Cartularium Saxonicum, I, 339. ‡ *Ibid.*, III, 692.

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Lohthere's leage, between Edgeware and the River Brent, in A.D. 972. In this charter some interesting old names occur in the boundaries mentioned,* viz., the Old Roman Way, Watling Street, Iccenesford, the River Brægent, Heandune gemearc, or the boundary of Hendon, and the king's mearc, or the boundary of Kingsbury, near Willesden.

The first mention of the Strand and Holborn, as far as I know, occur in Eadgar's charter of A.D. 959, in the words "be strande" and "holeburne."

The origin of the great religious communities of St. Paul's and Westminster is lost in the obscurity of the early Anglo-Saxon age. It is known that Æthelbert, king of Kent, established the bishopric of London, and it is stated in charters of subsequent centuries that he endowed St. Paul's. It is extremely probable that he did so, and thus the beginning of the 7th century may be accepted as the date of the connection of some, at least, of the great estates of St. Paul's in Middlesex with that religious community. These estates were given to the bishop and his church by Æthelbert or the early kings who succeeded him, either as kings of Essex or as supreme overlords of Middlesex. These royal personages appear indeed to have given away to the bishop of London, and St. Paul's, to Christchurch, Canterbury and the archbishop, to Westminster Abbey, and to Barking Abbey, very nearly all the land of royal demesne they had in Middlesex, so that at the end of the Saxon period we find, as recorded in Domesday Book, that the king was one of the smallest of the actual holders of land in the county.

* *Ibid.*, III, 604.

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The king's name, however, remains attached to Kingsbury, near Willesdon, which, to have acquired its name, must have been the property of one or more of the early kings. As the king's mearc is mentioned in A.D. 959, it may perhaps be concluded that Kingsbury passed out of the king's possession at some date between 959 and 1086, the date of Domesday survey.

Middlesex in its administration, when compared with other counties, was peculiar. It had no alderman or duke placed over it by the king as other counties had. The portreeve of London was its highest officer, and he is mentioned as early as A.D. 745.*

Our view of Anglo-Saxon Middlesex as a county under the jurisdiction of the portreeves, the early representatives of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, must, however, be considered in reference to the peculiar jurisdictions of the religious houses which had their great estates within it. As London itself during the Saxon age was not a city under one jurisdiction, but comprised a number of separate communities known as sokes, so Middlesex was not a county wholly under one jurisdiction. Its area as a county was naturally small, and the administrative area which was immediately connected with the City of London was necessarily much diminished by the existence of the great estates of the religious houses, which had their separate courts and administrative officers.

The chief courts of St. Paul's and the episcopal lands of London in the Saxon period appear to have been held within the soke of St. Paul's in the City, at

* Cartularium Saxonicum, I, 246.

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Stepney, and at Fulham. Westminster Abbey had its courts at Westminster and at Staines, and Christchurch, Canterbury, or the archbishop, had a court at Harrow. The Middlesex, which was thus under the direct administration of the City, consisted of various parts of the county only.

The peculiarity which always distinguished this county from other English counties was that the shire was abnormally small, and the chief town in it abnormally large. If the City had been separated from the shire and placed under a portreeve, the county being left under a shire reeve, the portreeve would have been in a more important position than the officer who bore the higher title of shire reeve. The portreeve of London in Saxon time was thus virtually made shire reeve of whatever parts of Middlesex remained under the king's justice. Its government thus rested on a more democratic basis, that of the free community of London. This free community is described in the Anglo-Saxon records by various names, some of them Latin terms, viz., civitas, villa, urbs, oppidum, and vicus. In other instances the City is mentioned by names taken from the living language of the people, as a wic, tun, burh, and port, and from this last the chief official or portreeve took his title. In one early code of laws, however, he is called the wic-reeve.

When the Anglo-Saxon kings endowed the great monasteries or the bishops with extensive lands, they generally gave them all the rights over those lands it was in their power to give, such as the services of the people settled on the land, the right of holding courts with the fines and forfeitures arising from the

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administration of the law; *i.e.*, the king granted the great abbeys his own prerogative of justice. It was so at Peterborough, which acquired this liberty in the 7th century, and to-day the designation Liberty of Peterborough is still used as a survival of the ancient liberty of the abbey independently of the shire. It was so in Middlesex in reference to the estates of the archbishop, the bishop and his canons at St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. These all had seignorial jurisdiction, and their courts had the power of life and death, *i.e.*, they were independent of the king's courts. The shire court was the highest legal tribunal at that time in any county. During the Saxon age, and for many centuries later, the gibbets or gallows of the local courts existed all over the country. There were many in Anglo-Saxon London and Middlesex. The bishop and canons of St. Paul's had at one time three gibbets in the City and its early suburbs, *i.e.*, between the old walls and the later bars, viz., at Cornhill, Holborn, and just outside Bishopsgate. As London grew these gibbets were abolished, and all executions decreed by the Courts of Justice belonging to St. Paul's, were carried out at Stepney and Finsbury.

The subject of Anglo-Saxon justice and the execution of criminals in Middlesex brings us to the consideration of Tyburn, the Saxon Teoburna. This was primarily the name of a stream which flowed through what is now St. James's Park and worked the abbey mill at Westminster. It was also the name of a manor that belonged to the Abbess of Barking. The manor must have been north of Oxford Street, because all the land south of it was included in the great estate that belonged to Westminster Abbey. The

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boundary of the Westminster or St. Peter's Abbey land, was the "wide herestret" or Roman Road, now Oxford Street. In fixing the boundary of this land, the old Roman highway was taken as a well-known line. That boundary still remains practically the same a thousand years or more after it was first chosen. I cannot tell you when Tyburn first became the site for a gallows, but the place of execution in later centuries at Tyburn was on or quite close to Oxford Street, and its own boundary. This brings us to the fact that in the Anglo-Saxon period places of execution were very frequently at the boundaries of great lordships, or hundreds. This may be seen in the sites where old gallows existed in various counties. I could show you many examples of gallows that formerly existed on or near boundaries. From these circumstances it would appear to be probable that Tyburn was the place for the execution of criminals originally within the abbey jurisdiction, and that after the King came to reside at Westminster, its site in this respect was continued under the king's justice. The name Marylebone, formerly Maribone or St. Mary le Bourn, still reminds us of the Tyburn stream and of the Saxon Abbey of St. Mary of Barking, from which it took the dedication of the little church on the bourne.

The king, who in nearly all counties in the later Anglo-Saxon period, held the chief, or some of the chief manors within them, manors which produced a great revenue, held in Middlesex a few small areas of land only. The early kings had given nearly all the land in this county which they were able to give to the great religious houses. This is shown in a strong light by the Domesday record, which only enumerates

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a few small areas as being held by the king. One of these was a piece of land consisting of twelve acres and a half only, by which the royal revenue was augmented to the extent of five shillings per annum, and which was called Nane mannes londe, or No Man's land. It was situated in the same hundred as Harrow, and must, I think, have been somewhere in that district. Domesday book tells us that it was held by King William, and had been held similarly by King Edward. It was a piece of land of singular interest as regards Middlesex, and of interest also in comparison with lands of the same kind in other counties, which have from time immemorial been called No Man's land. These small areas of No Man's land were in many instances the lands which small occupiers acquired by the process of squatting. It was probably squatter's land. In Hampshire we know of several small areas of land called No Man's land, and we know of the custom by which squatters in ancient time, and until almost within living memory, who settled upon unoccupied land acquired their customary rights. This was that commonly known as key-hole tenure, under which by ancient custom, if a man built a hut, covered it, and lighted his fire within it during the course of one night, he acquired by custom a right not to be disturbed. As time went on he was allowed no doubt to improve the architecture of his habitation, but for undisturbed possession it was necessary for him to build it, roof it in with sods or other material, and establish himself with a hearth and a fire burning on it, all without observation, on forest land subject to common rights, or some similar site. One of the most remarkable observations that may be made at

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the present time round the outskirts of the New Forest, is the existence of hamlets of very small habitations. These apparently were originally huts of squatters. Similar groups of ancient cottages may be observed round the fringes of ancient forests in other parts of England.

The origin of this custom in very ancient time must, I think, be attributable to one of two causes, or to both of them. The sacred character of the hearth was a feature of antiquity which came down to the historic period from prehistoric ages, and this may have led to the toleration of these ancient squatters' hearths. Another cause which may have led to the custom is that by which temporary huts were allowed to be erected on the common lands, far distant from the villages or permanent settlements, as shelters on the summer pastures. If we apply this to Middlesex in the Anglo-Saxon period, we may see in the huts or small cottars' dwellings on No Man's land, the later survivals of the summer shelters in the forest of the herdsmen, which gradually became permanently occupied. The earliest name for the Anglo-Saxon tribal people who settled in and round what is now Harrow was "gumeninga hergae," the descendants or sons of the men of hergae or Harrow. In a previous paper I have referred to Harrow as a very early possession of the archbishop, or of his monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, and I have shown also that the so-called Jutes of Kent must have been largely Goths. The word "guman" is the old northern Gothic word for man, and the word gumeninga is a plural form denoting the sons of the men, derived from it. In Scandinavia, including northern Gothland, the custom of

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erecting temporary shelters on the common pastures for occupation in summer still prevails, and it probably prevailed on the high forest land of northern Middlesex close to the City as it was in Saxon time.

The name Finsbury shows by its termination that it is of Saxon date. It was no doubt an agricultural village, and the name Old Street probably marks the line of one of its earliest roads.

Another small agricultural community that existed close to Saxon London was that just outside Bishopsgate. Domesday Book tells us that at the time of the survey, and previously in the time of king Edward, the canons of St. Paul's had, "at the gate of the bishop," ten cottars who held nine acres, for which they paid 18*s.* 6*d.* rent. This little community was composed of cottars, or agricultural labourers with a certain degree of freedom, living under the canons as their lords.

Another interesting Saxon estate was that of Westminster Abbey in and near Staines. It included Yeoveney on the west of Staines, Halyford and Scheperton situated east or south-east of it. The name Halliford survives, and is a name which tells us of some sacred mark such as a cross or crucifix, placed near the ford over the stream by the abbey to show that it was church land. In one of the Saxon charters relating to Westminster crosses are mentioned as among its boundary marks, and it was a common circumstance in Saxon time for a crucifix, known as a Christe mæl, to be set up as a boundary mark. The curious name Watersplash farm also survives near an old fording place at Haliford, and this is clearly a survival of the use of the ancient ford, by

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the splashing of the water as horses and cattle passed through the stream. Similar old splash names still survive where fords existed in other counties. Halliford was also called Hallowford, or the holy ford, in later centuries from its Saxon crucifix or cross.

As we might expect to find, many of the Saxon names in the boundaries of land in Middlesex have been lost, or become modified in the course of a thousand years. The old manorial names, Rugemere and Tyburn, have disappeared in those of St. Pancras and Marylebone. Others became obsolete through physical changes; for example, it is difficult now to say exactly where the old waterway at Westminster was, called by the Saxon name Merfleot. We know it must have been north and west of the abbey, as it was part of the water channel which made Thorney an island.

In the City one of the old names whose origin is obscure is Lothbury. It is certainly of Saxon date, and may have arisen, as Mr. J. Horace Round has pointed out, from a Lotharingian landowner in the time of Edward the Confessor. It may, however, be much earlier, for Hlothere was the name of one of the kings of Kent and a grandson of Æthelbert, who founded the bishopric of London. In any case, there was a place called Lothere's leage near London in A.D. 972, named apparently after a man called Lothere. On the other hand it should be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon word "hloth," meant a company of thieves, and bury, a stronghold. Lothbury may consequently have been understood as denoting a stronghold, not as now in the bank for gold, but for Anglo-Saxon thieves who would appropriate other people's gold if they had the opportunity.

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One of the most ancient of the names on the west of Saxon London was that of the old Roman way, the "wide herestrat" of the charters, now Oxford Street, which is one of the widest of our old streets. Eastward of this along the Roman way the church of "Sancte Andreas or Holeburne" is mentioned in A.D. 959, from which we know that a church dedicated to St. Andrew existed on or quite close to the present church of St. Andrew, nearly a thousand years ago.

Some of the old boundary marks of the Saxon age in Middlesex are of interest, such as those I have mentioned, the "kinge's mearc" and "heandune's gemærc," which may be identified certainly with the old limits of Kingsbury and Hendon. Two of these old boundary marks of the county are of special interst, viz., the stones at the south-west and north-west corners, one at Staines, and the other between Harefield and Rickmansworth. The name Staines is written in the Saxon charters in the singular, Stána or Stáne, the stone from which the name has arisen. The other stone which marked the jurisdiction of the city in the north-west of the county was known as the city boundary stone, and its modern representative may still be seen on the roadside north of Harefield.

This subject of boundaries brings us to one of the most ancient of all the remains of the Saxon period in Middlesex, the Grimsditch, at Pinner, and Harrow Weald. It is but a high mound, now much worn down, and a ditch, now much filled up, extending for some miles, near the north-west boundary of the county, the ditch having been on the Middlesex side. It was probably a tribal boundary. The name is mythological, and it is certainly one of the Saxon

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period, and pre-christian. It may have been given by the early settlers in Middlesex to work that existed before their time. There are several dykes called Grimsditch in other counties, and as the name Grimsby for the Lincolnshire town is found in one of the Northern Sagas,* the name is probably early Scandinavian. The Saxons settled in Wiltshire called a similar ditch Wansdyke. After the introduction of christianity, such an excavation would probably be called Devil's ditch, as in the case of the great ditch across Newmarket Heath. A work of this kind, whose origin the pagan Saxons could not understand, they attributed to Woden, and after their conversion, the origin of such old engineering works, as well as here and there the origin of the Roman roads were attributed to the work of the devil.

We can look on Saxon Middlesex from various aspects, and view some of the phases of country life round London in no uncertain light. Its ecclesiastical aspect, for example, during the later Saxon period, was very different from what it was during the time of the settlement. During the early period the people were pagans; during the later period they were christians. The name Grimsditch, which I have mentioned, reminds us of the mythological Grim, which was one of the northern names for Woden. The name Harrow, also, anciently hearh, hergae, denotes a temple, a heathen place of worship, on a high place, such as heathen worshippers commonly chose. It is not necessary to go out of Middlesex to find a site of ancient pagan worship on a high place. We first meet with the name

* Heimskringla. Hakon the Good, c. 3.

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Harrow in A.D. 787. I know of only two old place names of the Saxon age in England of the same significance, one called Pepper Harrow, near Godalming, and the other, now lost, in Sussex. Harrow, one of the highest places in Middlesex, must have been during the early Anglo-Saxon period a sacred heathen place. There was probably a deep significance in its early grant to the archbishop, and in the erection on the highest site in Harrow of a church by the highest of English prelates.

While pagan rites were dying out, and that was a long struggle, during the Saxon age, the earliest church at Harrow must have been to both London and Middlesex a symbol of the triumph of christianity over pagan worship.

The influence of Saxon London as a city on Middlesex can be viewed from many aspects. London in this period was relatively a great city. The evidence I have brought forward in former papers proves this. Three great roads, in addition to others, passed through the county into the City. These were the highways of its internal trade to the north and to the west. In addition there was the great waterway of the Thames and the lesser waterway of the Lea. Along these roads and on these rivers, merchants with their wares or goods for sale, were constantly passing and re-passing, and on these highways for trade the king's peace prevailed. This was an Anglo-Saxon institution for the better protection of merchants and their goods. If any merchant was injured on one of the Roman highways, or on a navigable river, a more severe penalty was inflicted than for a similar offence elsewhere. The king's peace thus prevailed

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through various parts of Middlesex and on the rivers that formed its boundaries on the south and east. We have next to consider the old markets on the outskirts of the county, Chipping Barnet and Stanestaple. These names, Chipping and Staple, denote that they were Saxon markets, and they must have had some connection with the supply of country produce to the great City. At these markets there must have been, in accordance with king Æthelstan's law, witnesses to transactions. "Let there be," says Æthelstan's 5th law, "at every bargain two or three witnesses." Go to one of these markets or fairs now, and after much haggling you will see the buyer strike the hand of the seller, as his forefathers did a thousand years ago.

The earliest primitive places for the exchange of commodities we can trace in the country districts are the Staples at the boundaries of primitive settlements, hundreds, or counties. These early markets of Middlesex are on its boundaries. By the market rights of London itself, other places nearer to it probably could not have markets.

Again, the citizens of London had hunting rights over Middlesex; such a privilege could not have failed to have exerted an influence in the direction of freedom on the people of the county. This seems the more probable when we remember that within about two centuries of the Conquest, the people of the county claimed as an immemorial custom, the right of fishing in the River Brent, and the proprietors of the adjoining lands were restricted from erecting weirs which would interfere with the accustomed right of fishing there by the commonalty, nets of due

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assize being used. As such a right as this is not likely to have originated after the Norman Conquest, it must have been a customary privilege come down from the Saxon period.

The greatest influence, however, which Anglo-Saxon London exerted on Middlesex, was probably that which affected the social condition of the country people. The citizens of London being all personally free, were subject to no lord except the king, and were under the government of their own courts and customary laws. The inferior tenants in all parts of Middlesex were manorial tenants, mostly villeins, who cultivated so much land for themselves, and worked part of their time with their teams for their lords, and cottars who occupied cottages and had a small area of land around it, generally about four acres, and who were liable to work one day in the week at least for the lord. A great free community such as the City of London, was thus in near proximity to agricultural communities under their lords. Personal freedom in the Saxon period outside the cities and boroughs was variable. The manorial tenants were more or less free according to the custom of various places. In Kent they were all personally free. In Middlesex they were more free than in most counties. The villein tenants in most counties occupied a virgate of land. In Middlesex some of them occupied four times as much, or a hide, that is, they were more important men. In Middlesex also most of the manorial labourers were cottars, who were more or less free, with land of their own. In this we cannot but recognise the influence of the City. The administration of justice under the system of compurgation by

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which a free man's innocence or guilt could be proved by so many oaths of his kindred or guildsmen was the system under which only the free men were acquitted or convicted. For those living in parts of Middlesex who had not the status of free men, the mode of trial was by ordeal. The earliest code of laws specially drawn up for London was that of Æthelstan about a century and a-half before the Norman Conquest, probably about the year 925. The special code, as it must be presumed to have been necessary, proves the relative greatness of the City at that time. For trial by compurgation to be equitable, it was essential that the oath takers should be truthful, and this was an apparent difficulty in Æthelstan's time, and probably always had been. That king, however, made an effort to reform the evil of this archaic system by ordering that search should be made for men who were known not to be liars, so that there might always be a number of truthful jurors forthcoming when their attendance was required to vouch the character of a litigant.*

Trial by compurgation was, however, the right of only a privileged class among the Saxon people. For the others who owed bond service to a lord, unless their lords would answer for them, there was no such trial, for they had legally no kinsmen whose oaths would be accepted. For them consequently if any man was accused of a crime, he had to abide by the Judgment of God, *i.e.*, an appeal was made to the archaic system of the Ordeal. There were ordeals of various kinds. I shall only allude very briefly to them, and I do so because there are still existing in

*Inderwick, F. A. The King's Peace (quoting the Laws of Æthelstan) p. 10.

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various parts of Middlesex some old buildings, portions of which are as old as the 11th century, and some of the walls may be even older. I mean the most ancient churches. The Ordeal of hot iron or hot water as an appeal to the Judgment of God was a religious office, and took place within the Anglo-Saxon churches. It was not finally suppressed until the 13th century, when this archaic custom, continued in early christian time as a religious office, finally gave way under the influence of Trial by Jury and the order of the Pope.

This society has visited the churches of Perivale, East Bedford, and others in Middlesex, in which the solemn Anglo-Saxon office of Trial by Ordeal may have taken place, and probably did take place. In a county so much frequented, accusations of crime against some poor manorial tenant whose kindred were legally no kindred, must have occasionally been made. To establish his innocence he had to appeal to the Judgment of God, the Ordeal of red hot iron or boiling water being two of its forms. The process of each is well known.

Another form of ordeal which is less known, was that of cold water. The accused man was stripped of his clothes; his hands were bound crosswise to his feet, and his body was sprinkled with holy water. The cross from the altar and a book of the gospels were given him to kiss. Then a cord with a knot in it, two ells and a-half from the extremity, was fastened round his waist, and he was slowly lowered into a pool of water. If he sank so as to draw the knot below the surface, he was pronounced innocent. If he had the misfortune to float, he was delivered

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over to the officers of justice. If, unfortunately for himself he was a fat man, it is difficult to see how he could escape. This reads like romance. In reality, it was part of the semi-ecclesiastical judicial procedure of the Anglo-Saxon people of Middlesex. London appears, however, to have been free from this kind of trial.

Another Saxon method of settling legal accusations of crime was Wager of Battle. This is mentioned in the Laws of king Alfred. The accused man could claim in court to settle the matter by fighting his accuser, and although the citizens of London were by special custom exempt from challenges of this kind, the people of Middlesex were not. In a county through which so much traffic passed, it is certain that trial by combat must have been challenged or claimed more frequently than in some other counties. England is indeed a country of astonishing survivals of customary law. Although practically obsolete for centuries, this Anglo-Saxon process survived until within living memory, the last cases on record having occurred on November 17th, 1817, when an accused murderer challenged the brother of a murdered woman in a trial before Lord Ellenborough in accordance with ancient customary law, and the challenge not being accepted, he escaped the penalty of his presumed crime. It is probable that he had as his legal adviser a man who was an archæologist.

In former papers I have alluded to the forest land of Middlesex, and to its inhabitants, to the herdsmen, the swineherds, the charcoal burners, the unlicensed coiners, and the thieves. There were many other circumstances of interest connected with the Anglo-Saxon

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woodlands and forests. One of these was the regulation concerning honey. Wild bees abounded in the woods, making their hives in the hollows of the old trees. Honey was one of the sources of revenue from a Saxon forest or woodland. No man could take honey from a hollow tree without being liable to fine or punishment,* the owner of the woods being the owner of the honey. The Anglo-Saxon bees legally worked only for the lord of the wood.

Again, on the roads leading to London passing through its forest land there existed ale houses, to which people in Saxon time often resorted for liquid refreshments, sometimes drinking from a common measure, generally, no doubt, of ample capacity. These drinking vessels were commonly marked by pegs. The first man drank to his peg and passed it on to the next, who drank to the second peg, and so on. This custom was the result of a public house reform by King Eadgar under the guidance of Dunstan. He tried to lessen the evils of excessive ale drinking by ordering that these pegs should be fastened to drinking horns at regular intervals, and whosoever drank beyond the pegs at one draught should be liable to punishment.† This, I think, must generally in practice have been a liability of paying for more ale.

Dunstan was Bishop of London, and he forbade his priests to be in no wise "ale scops" or reciters in an ale house, a prohibition which tells its own tale of Anglo-Saxon life in and round the City.

The word "gumeninga" I have mentioned in reference to Harrow, and the Gothic word "gumma,"

* Inderwick, F. A. "The King's Peace," p. 145.

† Bickerdyke, J. "Curiosities of Ale and Beer," p. 97, quoting Strutt.

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for man, reminds us of the marriage customs of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Ale drinking, which was so common among them, was, with vocal entertainment, an indispensable accompaniment to rejoicings, such as those at marriages. Bede, writing towards the end of the 7th century, tells us that at Anglo-Saxon entertainments, it was the custom for all present to sing in their turn. There is no reason to doubt, as far as I know, that the word bridal is a surviving form of bride-ale, its original significance being now forgotten. To be invited to a bride ale in Anglo-Saxon London or Middlesex, was to be invited to a drinking bout. The Gothic word "gumma," a man, survives in the modern word bridegroom. Some special barrels of ale were brewed for a Saxon bride ale, at which the guests consumed also the great loaf made by the bride, as her introduction to the duties of housekeeping. This loaf was presumably the ancestor of the wedding cake. It was not every Anglo-Saxon matron in London, however, who made her own bread. There were bakers in the City, and we know they were forbidden to heat their ovens with fern, straw, stubble, or reeds. They were compelled to use wood, and by the assize of bread also compelled to give good weight. As a last punishment for short weight, a baker was drawn on a hurdle through the City and forbidden henceforth to practice his trade within it. I need scarcely remind you that a journey on a hurdle was the most ignominious mode of travelling in Anglo-Saxon London.

For judicial proceedings, whether concerning bakers or others, it was necessary that freemen, who in some counties were commonly called socmen,

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should be available in each hundred and county to constitute the Hundred Courts and for other legal purposes as oath takers, and we find in the Domesday record that at the close of the Saxon period there were some free men of this description in Middlesex. The earliest forty shilling freeholders, of whom we have heard so much, were no doubt their later representatives. Anglo-Saxon justice in country districts could not be carried on without such men.

The records concerning London in the time of Æthelstan, as already mentioned, tell us of thieves who lurked in the woods and forests within reach of the City. Their usual punishment, if caught, was death on the gallows.

In reference to a thief at large for robbery in Saxon London, the Dooms of Æthelstan relating to the City say: "If we should be able to come at him that the same should be done to him that would be done to a Wylise thief, or that he be hanged." The Wylise thief was a Welsh thief who was much in evidence in the Saxon period on the border counties, and also in some others, such as Huntingdonshire, in the interior of England. From the reference in the Saxon records to the trade in cattle with the Welsh, and also to the Wylise thief, in the Saxon Dooms of London, it would appear that among cattle drovers there were Welsh thieves sometimes at large in Middlesex. This reference to Welsh thieves appears to give a probability of great antiquity to the well-known doggerel lines concerning a Welshman's former habit of appropriating goods which did not belong to him. The laws of Anglo-Saxon London are particularly directed against thieves. There were great

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thieves and little thieves as there are now, and if caught, the big thieves were certainly hanged.

Great indeed must have been the risk from thieves in such a city. Think of the arts of metal working alone. In these arts, during the later Saxon age, there was one in which London was probably the centre, viz., that connected with gold work and embroidery. This art appears to have been introduced into England by the northern Goths of Scandinavia, who preserved the metallic arts during the downfall of the Roman Empire. Very elegant specimens of Anglo-Saxon gold embroidery have been preserved from the time of Ælfred. The Goldsmiths of London are known to have been prosperous citizens before the close of the Saxon period. In those days even Germans came to England to learn the art of gold-working from the Anglo-Saxons.

For this art to have flourished and its manufactures to have found a ready market in London, a supply of gold was necessary, and this the country itself supplied. The geological evidence that gold was obtained from old alluvial deposits near some old auriferous quartz rocks in the northern and western counties of England appears conclusive. This gold embroidery of our remote forefathers found its way by the eastern trade route across Europe, and excited the admiration of even Greeks and Saracens. One of the Northern Sagas tells us of the admiration it also excited in Iceland.

For the purposes of its foreign trade and supplies for daily life, it is certain that in the Saxon period there were men passing through Middlesex, to and from London, whose business took them on long

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journeys. Of such were the salt men, corn and metal merchants, the cattle sellers, and the chapmen mentioned in a former paper. In the laws of Ine, in the 8th century, such a traveller is mentioned under the designation of "a far coming man." London being the chief commercial mart of England in the Saxon period, it is certain that more "far coming men" must have been constantly passing through Middlesex to and from the City, than through any other county. The laws of Ine tell us what a stranger or far coming man had to do on his journey in Wessex, and a somewhat similar law probably prevailed in Mercia, the ancient laws of which, except a few fragments, have been lost. Ine's law says: "If a far coming man, or a stranger, journey through a wood out of the highway, and neither shout or blow his horn, he is to be held for a thief, either to be slain or redeemed." In the woods of Anglo-Saxon Middlesex, there must have been a great deal of the necessary shouting or horn blowing as honest men passed through them. Amongst these far coming men, there must have been drovers taking cattle and sheep for the food of the great Saxon city, which could not exist without such supplies. This brings us to the subject of cattle brought into Middlesex as payments in kind to the king.

It was probably not until the reign of the last Saxon king, that the payments of the king's ancient food rents were made at Westminster. He made Westminster his chief residence, his predecessors having, from the traditions of Wessex, regarded Winchester as the centre of their government. There were many manors in Wiltshire, Hampshire, and

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Dorset, which by a custom come down from a time immemorial, paid the king a certain rent in corn, cattle, and other food. This they had to deliver for the king's household. When Edward the Confessor transferred his court from Winchester to Westminster, the food had to be delivered at Westminster, and we know, from the evidence of an old man, taken in the time of Henry I, that the roads leading to Westminster in the last Saxon king's reign, were, at certain times of the year, choked with waggons and droves of cattle brought there in payment of these royal dues. During the reign of the last Saxon king, however, the change began by which in lieu of this archaic food supply for the royal household, so much money in white silver was paid. This was known as Blanch ferm, or white money. This change was, in those cases in which the computation was considered satisfactory, probably an advantage to the people who paid the old food rents, for in driving their cattle to Westminster, they were liable to lose some of them by the way through thieves, or by the animals straying. One thing is certain. We may still see at Westminster the very ancient vaulted chamber, probably built in the time of the last Saxon king, near to or in which the fineness of the silver offered in lieu of the old food rents was assayed to show that the full value of the Blanche ferm was received.

One of the survivals of the Anglo-Saxon period which has come down to us in many parts of England, is the ancient provision of the manor for wood and pasture, often an outlying part of the manor. In Middlesex we still have outlying parts of Edmonton, Hillingdon, Hanwell, Ickenham, and Cowley, some of which were probably similar arrangements.

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Of all the ancient manorial arrangements for pasture and wood that existed in Saxon Middlesex, very few survive. At Hadley, however, close to Barnet, a part of its ancient commonland and wood is still left, and the open pasture there, with its wood, and gates to prevent the animals from straying beyond its limits, is a pleasing sight for archæologists, and a surviving example close to modern London of the remains of an Anglo-Saxon institution.

The tenants on the country manors in Middlesex had, in addition to pasture for cattle, other forest and woodland rights, viz., housebote and haybote, whose names clearly point to their Saxon origin, *i.e.*, they had a right to the wood for the building and repair of the houses and cattle sheds, and for the making of necessary hays or fences, the delivery to be made or approved by the wood seer. The wood the cottars were entitled to for fuel, etc., was probably the same as that by custom at Loughton and at Wimbledon, and known in later centuries as a "Christmas block and a Midsummer bough."*

The cottars, however, were only entitled to such wood as they could carry away on their backs, a regulation which many an artist has commemorated in pictures of rural scenery, without perhaps understanding its ancient significance.

Among the natural features of interest in Saxon Middlesex were the fords. The names of most of these still survive, although they have long since been superseded by bridges. The best example I know in the county where the old ford may still be seen close to the bridge by which the ancient road now crosses the

* Fisher, W. R. "The Forest of Essex," 258.

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stream, is at Greenford, near Ealing. We may stand and see by the great extent of pasture land there, how the place got its name. Its name is true to its surroundings to-day, as it was a thousand years ago. The name Old Ford for a passage across the Lea, survives, and the name Stratford also reminds us of this ford, which must have been the most important ford across which a direct road into London passed.

Fords necessarily prove the existence of roads at the places where they existed. In the northern parts of Middlesex some of the old roads, worn down by the traffic of ages below the level of the ground on either side, are a manifest survival of the Saxon age. They are some of our chief antiquities of this period, and the old bridle roads, now in some cases only pathways, are equally significant. Again, from the lines of the old Roman highway going to Edgeware, or across what was Hounslow Heath, you may see roads or lanes branching off from the ancient highways. These are the same old roads our Saxon forefathers used, and at some of their sharp bends we may note the probable sites of old settlements which have long since disappeared, and which often caused such turns in the road. The Saxon age in Middlesex still affects our lines of travel in the country districts. It does more than this. It influences our lines of locomotion even in parts of London, as may be observed at Stepney in the irregular lines of the oldest streets there, which when houses were first built along them, followed the irregular roads of the Saxon village.

The most notable of all the fords that formerly existed in Middlesex was that very remarkable one which has interesting archæological associations of its

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own, and which led in certain conditions of the river across the Thames itself into Surrey near Walton.

Of the bridges, the earliest was of course London Bridge, another existed at Staines, and another at Kingston in Saxon time. Of others over the larger streams, those at Stratford and Uxbridge were probably the earliest.

To the Middlesex stokes or staked places, by which some sort of a crossing place was made over alluvial marshes and streams, we have several references in the Anglo-Saxon land grants, the most frequented one being the old stoke at the foot of Holborn Hill I mentioned in a former paper. It is so named in Eadgar's charter to Westminster, and its site must have been near the present line of Holborn Viaduct, across the Fleet rivulet, and the marshy ground or the Lundene fenn, mentioned as adjoining it.

The same charter tells us of a stoke named Pollene stocce west of Westminster, and the named Stoke Newington also points to the existence of another stoke at the Saxon Neuton, now Newington.

It is of some interest to consider the probable level of Saxon London. In all old towns the streets rise from century to century. In Southampton there still exist ancient Norman wine cellars which were entered at a level six feet below the present level of the streets. The Roman level beneath the present streets of London varies, but where it has been ascertained, as in Cheapside, it was about sixteen or eighteen feet below the present level. The floor or level of Anglo-Saxon London was probably from ten to twelve feet below that of the existing streets.

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Between the City of Westminster it may have been somewhat less. In Westminster, and especially near the Abbey, the surface has probably risen more than in the Strand or Whitehall. In digging the foundations for modern buildings on or near the course of the great ditch or Anglo-Saxon Merfleot, much alluvium has been met with. The buildings of Scotland Yard rest on very deep foundations, built from a depth of forty feet. Some of the old houses near the Abbey, but along the alluvium, were built on piles. The Merfleot stream appears to have had a curved course. At the edge of the alluvium or beneath it, there was a deposit of river gravel, or sand, or both. Hence the name Strand. The foundations of the new War Office are laid upon this gravel, this ancient strand, at varying depths, according to the varying depth of the gravel beneath the surface, part of the foundations being very deep, and part comparatively shallow, all resting on the gravel bed, which forms a better foundation than would be got by making the foundations at a uniform depth.

This river gravel bed is a continuation of that from which the Strand obtained its Anglo-Saxon name. Similarly to some buildings close to Westminster, it is certain that some Anglo-Saxon houses close to the City at Moorgate, Finsbury, and elsewhere on the London Fen were built on piles. We have no exact knowledge of the materials of which the bulk of the houses in London during this period were constructed, but we know that stone houses were the exception. It was the richer citizens alone who could afford to build their houses with stone. Most of the

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dwellings were probably constructed of wood, and as far as known the earliest regulations for building in London were made about a century after the Norman Conquest, when Fitz-Alwyne's Assize was enforced, and this was probably the earliest Building Act. Under its provisions, party walls were required to be made of stone three feet thick, and sixteen feet high, apparently with wood and plaster above this height. The houses were required to be covered with tiles or thatch. Brick making was a lost art in England in the Saxon period, but tile making survived.

Fires, of course, in the City must have been common, and in the year A.D. 764 a very great fire occurred, comparable in its destruction to that of the 17th century. It is, however, practically certain that even as late as the 10th century, some buildings of the Roman period existed in the Saxon City, for in that century Ethelweard in his chronicle tells us that in his time such buildings did exist in England. Wood, however, was the chief building material of the Saxon City. The earliest Icelandic writer, Snorre Sturlason, tells us in one of the Sagas that Olaf, king of Norway, as an ally of King Ethelred, pulled down some old houses in London to use the wood as shield coverings for his ships in his attack on the Danes when they held London Bridge.

This was in the year 1014. The attack was successful, and the bridge of Saxon London fell, owing to the clever method by which it was attacked. After this success of King Olaf as the ally of the English King Æthelred, one of the Norse Skalds, Ottar Svarte, is traditionally said to have broken out into song, to express the Northmen's joy of the victory,

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a song of triumph, sung from age to age in ancient Norway and Iceland :

London Bridge is broken down,
Gold is won and high renown,
Shields rebounding,
War horns sounding,
Hild is shouting in the din.
Arrows singing,
Mail coats ringing,
Odin makes our Olaf win.

That Olaf was afterwards known as St. Olave, and the dedication of the Church of St. Olave, Tooley Street, Southwark, still reminds us of his victory. Although the old English annalists tell us nothing of this incident in the humiliation of their country, I am not aware of any reason for doubting its general accuracy.

If we should be interested in Anglo-Saxon legends and folk-lore, Middlesex would probably be the least promising of English counties to supply material for that study. Its history in this respect must have been much the same as that of London. The busy current of national life, changing in its aspect from age to age, must have had a greater influence in Middlesex in the extinction of folk-lore and old legends than in other counties. There is, however, one remarkable fragment of an old tale that has survived, in the legend of the Two Kings of Brentford, which appears to have had its origin in the Anglo-Saxon age. The legend has passed into a proverb, applicable to the inconvenience arising from a divided authority. If we seek for an explanation of its origin we shall not be able, I think, to place it later than the time of our Saxon forefathers.

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In the first place, no two kings have ever, during peace, exercised authority in England since the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish period. The legend probably refers to King Edmund and King Cnut, who were concerned with Brentford in 1016. It was a frontier war, and Edmund and Cnut fought a battle.* The story of the two kings may, however, possibly be as old as the 8th century, for there is known letter of Waldhere, Bishop of London, to Archbishop Berctwald, relating to the meeting appointed to take place at Brentford in A.D. 705, to settle some disputes between Wessex and Essex.

Our knowledge of Saxon Brentford is supplemented by Snorré Sturlason. The reference to it, and to the two kings, Edmund and Cnut, reminds us of a very remarkable primitive institution by which they were connected in a sacred bond, that of sworn brotherhood. They had been enemies, but made peace, divided the country between them, and entered into the bond of sworn brotherhood, no mere profession of future friendship, but a compact made by a weird and solemn ceremony, no doubt come down from pagan time. We know what it was from one of the Northern Sagas, viz., the mingling of their blood in the impression made by a footprint. This took place near Gloucester, and it reminds us of a somewhat similar custom still prevailing in parts of Africa.

It was in the next year, 1017, that Cnut had the perfidious Earl Eadric executed in London, for plotting against his sworn brother, King Edmund, and causing his death. Only one of the existing MS.

* Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle.

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copies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us of this act of vengeance, and the chronicler adds the words that the earl was executed "very rightly." It is a touching story, for after Edmund's death there was but one king in England who could exercise authority at Brentford or elsewhere, and he soon afterwards made a pilgrimage to Glastonbury, to visit his brother Edmund's tomb and mourn his loss.

In previous papers I have referred to some of the customs of Anglo-Saxon London, which we are able to discover in an indirect way, and I have shown that they resembled in several respects the known ancient customs of Kent. We know that there were recognised Saxon laws and customs of London, and that they were written in a MS. book. Fabyan, in his Chronicle, tells us this, and of the loss of that old book. This was perhaps the greatest archæological literary loss the City ever sustained. Fabyan tells us that the names of the early portreeves were written in it. He says of it, also, "the lawes and customys used within this citie were regestryed in a boke called Domysday in Saxon tung than used, but in later dayes, when the said lawes and customes alteryd and chaunged, and for consideration also that the said boke was of small hande and sore defaced, it was the lesse set by, so that it was embesylyd or loste, so that the remembraunce of such rulers as were before the time of Richarde the firste is loste and forgotten." As Fabyan died in 1512, the old book probably disappeared in the 13th or 14th century, after Old English had ceased to be a living language. It is, I think, an object worthy of this Society, to do what it can by archæological research, to recover some part of that loss.

* MS. Cott. Domit. A VIII, a 1017.

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In conclusion, I may say that the evidence I have brought before this Society, shows, I think, that although, in the course of a thousand years, great changes have followed each other from age to age, some at least of the old landmarks of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in London and Middlesex are practically indestructible, unless by forced and arbitrary measures. Some of the customs of the Saxon period have even survived to our own time. The place names have been modified in spelling and in sound, but most of them in Middlesex, and many old street names in London still remain. The boundaries of many ancient manors and parishes have been changed, but some are still practically the same as in the Saxon age. This Society may appropriately exert its influence in preventing the loss of the old names in both London and Middlesex. By preserving all of them we can, we may have the satisfaction of passing on to posterity some of the traces of Anglo-Saxon life which have come down to us. No new high-sounding names, however imperial or royal, could repay us for the loss of the Saxon street names still surviving in the City. In the north of Middlesex the Grimsditch is likely, in the course of time, to disappear, but even if it should be partly built on, as at Pinner, the old name might well be preserved. The preservation of Saxon names appears the more necessary when we remember that relics of that period are much rarer than others of the Roman or any later age.

The Roman age in London and Middlesex has left us many relics, but few living results. It has had but a faint influence on our lives. The Anglo-Saxon age, on the contrary, has left us very few relics, but

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as it was the age of our earliest tribal forefathers in England, it has, even amidst the ceaseless activity of modern life in this great City and its old county, left us enduring traces of that period which was the beginning of our national history.

As an example probably of such a survival, let me in a few last words say that the dragon in the arms of the City may have come down from the Saxon period, a long forgotten emblem of the supremacy of Wessex over the other kingdoms of Saxon England, used as the Saxon standard at the battle of Hastings, used as the standard by Henry III, and adopted as part of the City arms in the time of some later king.

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Surrey: *Cooper, Crisp, Kershaw. See* "Croydon," "Dunsfold," "Guildford."
Sussex: *André, Cooper, Cunliffe, Kershaw, Napper, Phillips, S., Sussex. See* "Angmering," "Buxted," "Clayton," "Cuckfield," "Hastings," "Highdown," "Itchingfield," "Lewes," "Pevensey," "Rotherfield," "Slinfold," "Towncreep."

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Tealing: *Hutcheson.*
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OF

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPERS

PUBLISHED

IN

1897

[BEING THE SEVENTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891–97]

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

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NOTE.

The value of this Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form, and the first part will be ready by March next.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to

THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INDEX,
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London, N.W.

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the annual Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. This Index is already completed in MS. form, and the first part will be ready by March next.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1890 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this means it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 needs to be published. The MS. of this Index is already completed, and it is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1891 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

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Greek: *Earle-Fox, Imhof-Blumer, Macdonald, Perdrizet, Six, Wroth.*
Indian: *Codrington.*
Mende find: *Weber.*
Roman: *Evans.*
Scottish finds: *Richardson.*
Shrewsbury mint: *Kenyon.*
Warwickshire: *Davis.*
West Cumberland tokens: *Ferguson.*

Oban: *Anderson.*
Oil presses: *Paton.*
Okeover: *Stephenson.*
Ongar: *Round.*
Oriental Congress: *Offard.*
Orkney: *Charleson, Cursiter.*
Ormside: *Ferguson.*
Ormside cup: *Collingwood.*
Oronsay: *Anderson.*
Otham: *Cave-Brown.*
Otter and beaver traps: *Munro.*
Oxford: *Hurst, Manning. See* "Dorchester."

Pargetting: *Hurst.*
Parish antiquities: *Hughes, Laver.*
Parish registers: *Gwillim, T., Vane.*
Parishes: *Dawson, Dowdeswell.*
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Parliamentary elections: *Jennings.*
Pembrokeshire: *Phillips. See* "Haverfordwest."
Pennington: *Cowper.*
Pershore: *Andrews.*
Perthshire. *See* "Ardoch."
Peterborough: *Dryden.*
Phrygia: *Anderson.*
Picture board dummies: *Ferguson.*
Piddletown: *Dillon.*
Place names: *Duignan, Macritchie, Maskelyne, Phenè.*
Plataiai: *Woodhouse.*
Plumstead: *Howell.*
Plymouth: *Risk.*
Postal stamps: *Cramond.*
Pottery: *Anderson, Pilcher.*
Prehistoric remains: *Westropp.*
British settlement: *Mortimer.*
Burial places: *Hutcheson, Irvine.*
Cairns: *Cantrill, Coffey, Plunkett.*
Cist: *Coles, Frazer.*
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OF

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PUBLISHED

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[BEING THE TENTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891–1900]

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GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1891 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1891 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

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NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured, the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., 24, Dorset Square, London, N.W.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1890 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co.

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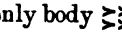
BROWN (ROBERT, JUNR.). Note on the heavenly body  . *Bibl. Arch. Soc.* xxiv. 126–129.

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SECOND REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE

FOR PROMOTING THE

TRANSCRIPTION AND PUBLICATION

OF

PARISH REGISTERS,

WITH CALENDAR OF REGISTERS

Printed and transcribed since the first Report of 1892.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

1896

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CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

Report of the Parish Register Committee, 1896.

The Committee in issuing the present supplement to their Report and Lists of 1892 have great pleasure in calling attention to the large increase in the number of Transcripts made; many of these, there is reason to believe, owe their existence to the help and stimulus given by the former report.

It is to be noted that a large number of the Transcripts have been made for the use of the various Parishes, and will therefore be accessible to the public.

It appears to the Committee that the evidence supplied by this supplemental List shows that the supposed impossibility of ever transcribing the whole of the Parish Registers of the Kingdom is imaginary, and that by enlisting and encouraging local effort, the very desirable object may be obtained at no great distance of time.

The list of Transcribers' names shows how much may be done by individual workers, and much more might easily be done by some organised effort by Diocesan authorities.

The Committee hail with satisfaction the successful formation of a Society for printing Parish Registers, under the patronage of the Archbishops and many of the Bishops. The Hon. Sec. is E. A. Fry, Esq., of 172, Edmund Street, Birmingham, who will be happy to give any information on the subject. The Society has already issued five Registers in return for the annual guinea subscription, and in the event of an increase in the number of subscribers will be able to print more Registers annually. In cases where some local help can be guaranteed, special arrangements can be made for printing Registers.

Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore (124, Chancery Lane) is also printing a series of complete Marriage Registers of Counties. Those of Gloucestershire are now being printed, and others for Hants, Kent, Northants, Notts, and Somerset are in active preparation. It is intended to arrange for other Counties.

Mr. Wm. Brigg, B.A. (Harpenden, Herts.), is printing in the "Herts. Genealogist" a useful series of Bishops' Transcripts for the periods for which the Parish Registers are lost.

It is gratifying to find that, at the instance of the Diocesan Conferences of St. Alban's and Worcester, Committees have been formed to obtain from all Incumbents in the Dioceses returns of the Registers existing in their Parishes, their exact dates and condition.

An effort will then be made to get the books put into proper repair,

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The Rev. O. W. Tancock, of Little Waltham Rectory, Chelmsford, is Hon. Sec. of the St. Alban's Committee, and E. A. Fry, Esq., of the Worcester, and either of these gentlemen will be glad to answer enquiries as to their method of work, so that a uniform plan may be adopted in other Dioceses.

The St. Alban's "Diocesan Quarterly" for the past quarter (No. 15, price 3*d.* post free, W. Root, Halstead, Essex) contains an account of what has been done in the St. Alban's Diocese.*

It is to be hoped that an effort will afterwards be made to get all the Registers transcribed and indexed, and copies kept in the Parish for reference. A small fee should be agreed upon as to be charged for consultation of the Transcript for purposes of Genealogical research, the charge for certified extracts from the original Registers remaining, of course, as at present.

The Committee are again indebted to Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. (Rouge Croix) for his revision of the list of Printed Registers. The somewhat arduous labour of compiling and editing the Calendar has been undertaken by Ralph Nevill, F.S.A. the Hon. Sec. of the Committee, and E. A. Fry, the Hon. Sec. of the Parish Register Society.

All who may publish or transcribe Registers in future are invited to send particulars to either of the above named gentlemen, who have undertaken to compile the next List.

RALPH NEVILL, *Hon. Sec.*
13, *Addison Crescent,*
Kensington.

The particulars obtained of the Registers of Herts. will be printed in Middlesex and Herts. Notes and Queries, commencing January, 1897 (*Messrs. Hardy & Page,* 44, *Chancery Lane, W.C.*).

* *The Worcester Diocesan Mag. for December,* 1896 (*Midland Education Co., Corporation Street, Birmingham, price* 2½*d. post free*), *contains a similar Report for the Worcester Diocese.*

The First Report of the Committee, issued in 1892, contains advice as to the transcription and publication of Registers, and a specimen alphabet of the characters chiefly used.

There are also Calendars of all Registers known to have been transcribed or printed up to the date of issue. The Calendars here given are supplementary to those in the First Report.

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BERKS. READING, St. Giles, 1518–1546, Walter L. Nash.

CHESHIRE. BIDSTONE, 1581–1700, W. F. Irvine.
STOCKPORT, St. Mary, 1584–1620, E. W. Bulkely 1889

CORNWALL. REDRUTH, 1560–1716, J. C. Peter, Redruth 1894, 4to

CUMBERLAND. DALSTON, vol. i. 1570–1678, vol. ii. 1679–1812, Rev. J. Wilson, M.A., 1893 and 1896. Indexed, with corrections from Bishops' transcripts.
KIRK OSWALD, 1577–1609, Canon Thornley 1895, 8vo
PENRITH, 1556–1601, G. Watson 1893, 8vo

DORSETS. BERE HACKETT, 1549–1745, E. A. Fry, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo
CAUNDLE BISHOP, 1570–1814, Rev. Canon C. H. Mayo (Dorset Records) 1895, 8vo
HOLNEST, 1589–1812, E. A. Fry (Dorset Records) 1894, 8vo
LONG BURTON, 1580–1812, E. A. Fry (Dorset Records) 1894, 8vo

DURHAM. DURHAM CATHEDRAL, 1609–1896, Harl. Soc. (in press).

ESSEX. FYFIELD, 1538–1700, F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., pr. 1896, fol.

GLO'STERS. MARSHFIELD, 1558–1793, F. A. Crisp, F.S.A., pr.

KENT. BEAKESBOURNE, 1558–1812, Rev. C. H. Wilkie, pr. dmy. 8vo
ORPINGTON, 1560–1754, H. C. Kirby Lond. 1895, 8vo

LANCS. HAWKSHEAD, 1568–1794, H. Swainson Cooper, F.S.A. dmy. 8vo

LINCOLNS. HORBLING, 1653–1837, H. Peet Liverpool, 1895, 8vo

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LONDON. CHARTERHOUSE CHAPEL, Bap. 1696–1836, Mar. 1671–1754 and 1837–1890, Bur. 1695–1854, Francis Collins, M.D., Harl. Soc., vol. xviii.

CHRISTCHURCH, Newgate Street, 1538–1754, W. A. Littledale, M.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xxi.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, Mayfair, Bap. 1740– and Mar. 1735–1754 (wrongly entered in last list), George J. Armytage, F.S.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xv.

ST. GEORGE'S, Hanover Square, Mar. 1810–1836 (in press), Harl. Soc.

ST. JAMES', Clerkenwell, Bur. 1551–1754, Robt. Hovenden, F.S.A., Harl. Soc., vol. xvii., xix., and xx.

NORFOLK. NORWICH, St. George's Tombland, 1538–1707.

NORTHANTS. MAXEY, 1538–1712, Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A. (Mitchell & Hughes) 1892, 8vo

NOTTS. WELLOW, 1703–1812, Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. Exeter, 1896, 8vo

WORKSOP, 1558–1771, Geo. W. Marshall, LL.D. Guildford, 1894, 8vo

RUTLAND. NORTH LUFFENHAM, 1572–1812, Rev. P. J. Dennis, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

SOMERSET. BRUTON, 1826–1890, Rev. T. A. Strong.

SUFFOLK. BARDWELL, 1538–1650, Rev. F. E. Warren, F.S.A. (Mitchell & Hughes).

BRAMFIELD, 1539–1889, Rev. T. S. Hill (Mitchell & Hughes).

SURREY. BANSTEAD, 1547–1789, F. H. Lambert, F.S.A., Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

WARWICKS. FILLONGLEY, 1538–1653, Rev. A. B. Stevenson.

WESTMORELAND. ASBY, 1657–1798, T. R. Rivington 1894, 8vo

RAVENSTONEDALE, 1570–1812, Rev. R. W. Metcalfe 1893, 8vo

WORCESTERS. KNIGHTWICK WITH DODDENHAM, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Bowstead-Wilson, F.S.A. 1891, small fol.

WORCESTER, St. Alban's, 1630–1812, Rev. J. Bowstead-Wilson, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

YORKS. BATLEY, 1559–1800, M. Sheard.

BOLTON ABBEY, 1689–1812, Rev. A. P. Howes, M.A. Skipton, 1895, 8vo

BURNSALL, vol. i. 1559–1700, vol. ii. 1701–1739 and 1783–1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1893, 8vo

CONISTONE, 1567–1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1894, 8vo

FELKIRK, 1701–1812, A. N. J. Royds, Rochdale, 1894, 8vo

MONK FRYSTON, 1538–1678, Par. Reg. Soc. 1896, 8vo

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YORKS. (*continued*)

RYLSTONE, vol. i. 1559–1723, vol. ii. 1724–1812, Rev. C. H. Lowe, M.A. Leeds, 1895–6, 8vo

SADDLEWORTH, 1613–1751, J. Radcliffe 1887, 8vo

SKIPTON-IN-CRAVEN, vol. i. 1592–1680, vol. ii. 1680–1745, vol. iii. 1745–1812, Rev. W. J. Stavert, M.A. Skipton, 1894–6, 8vo

YORK, Holy Trinity, 1586–1760, Rev. E. Bulmer (in progress).

YORK, St. Martin-cum-Gregory, 1538–1745, Rev. E. Bulmer (in progress).

No. 2.—List of Parish Registers printed in books and periodicals.

BERKS. DIDCOT, Bap. 1562–1647, Berks Notes and Queries, Oct. 1890, to April 1891.

CAMBRIDGES. CAMBRIDGE, St. Michael, 1538–1837, J. Venn, Camb. Antiqu. Soc., vol. xxv. (complete part) 1891, 8vo

CHESHIRE. STOCKPORT, Cheshire Notes and Queries.

DURHAM. ESH, 1566– Pro. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

*GLO'STERS. FORTHAMPTON, Mar. 1678–1812, Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell, Glouc. Mar. Reg.

FROCESTER, Mar. 1559–1799, Rev. W. Symonds, Glouc. Notes and Queries.

KING STANLEY, Mar. 1573–1812, Rev. T. W. Cattell and Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, G. M. R.

MAISEMORE, Bap. 1600–1663, Mar. 1557–1590, Bur. 1538–1599, G. N. & Q.

NYMPSFIELD, Mar. 1679–1812, Rev. J. Silvester, G. M. R.

OWLPEN, Mar. 1677–1895, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. W. B. Benison, G. M. R.

PEBWORTH, Mar. 1595–1700, Rev. T. P. Wadley, G. N. & Q.

QUEDGELY, Mar. 1559–1836, Rev. E. L. Bryan and Rev. W. Symonds, G. M. R.

RENDCOMBE, Mar. 1566–1812, Rev. G. E. A. Kempson, G. M. R.

SLIMBRIDGE, Mar. 1635–1812, Rev. W. Symonds, G. M. R

SWINDON, Mar. 1638–1838, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S., G. M. R.

WHADDON, Mar. 1674–1711, G. N. & Q.

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* The Glo'ster Marriage Registers are being printed in Glo'ster Notes and Queries, and will be issued in volumes, the first of which is now complete. *See* Preface.

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HERTS. CHIPPING BARNET, Bishops' Transcripts for sundry years, missing from Par. Reg., 1569–1682, Wm. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist, vol. ii.

NORTHAW, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1564–1748, Herts. Geneal., vols. i. and ii.

ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY, 1558–1689, Wm. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Geneal. Supplement.

ST. ALBAN'S, St. Michael's in, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1572–1630, Herts. Geneal., vol. i.

ST. ALBAN'S, St. Stephen's in, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1561–1600, Herts. Geneal., vol. i.

WIGGINTON, Bps. Trans., sundry years, 1609–1670, Herts. Geneal., vol. ii.

LINCOLNS. KINGERBY, 1562–1760 (in progress in Northern Genealogist), Bishop's Transcript.

MIDDLESEX. CHISWICK, Mar. 1678–1800 (in "Chiswick"), W. P. W. Phillimore.

NORTHANTS. CLAY COTON, 1541– (in progress, Northern Genealogist).

MAXEY, 1538–1712, Rev. W. D. Sweeting, M.A., Mis. Gen. et Herald. (*See* also List 1.)

NORTHUMBERLAND. ELSDON, 1672– , Proc. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne (in progress).

WARKWORTH, Bap. and Mar. 1688, Bur. 1674, J. C. Hodgson, Proc. Soc. Antiqu., Newcastle-on-Tyne (in progress).

NOTTS. NEWARK, Mar. 1650–1662, Northern Genealogist.

OLLERTON, 1592–1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D., The Genealogist.

WELLOW, 1703–1812, G. W. Marshall, LL.D., The Genealogist.

SOMERSET. STREET, 1599– (in progress in The Genealogist).

SUFFOLK. FRESTON, 1538–1894, Rev. C. R. Durrant, "Life in a Suffolk village," 1887–91.

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WORCESTERS. INKBERROW, 1675–1778, Rev. T. N. Leeke, Par. Mag.

NORTHFIELD, 1560–1576, W. F. Carter, Par. Mag.

ROUS LENCH, 1538– , Rev. Dr. Chafy Chafy, Par. Mag.

YORKS. LEEDS, St. Peter's, 1572–1612, Rev. E. Cookson, Thoresby Society.

STARTFORTH, 1661–1691 (in progress in Northern Genealogist).

WHITKIRK, 1603–1700, J. W. Morkill, M.A., Records of Whitkirk Leeds, 1892

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No. 3.—List of MS. Transcripts.

Those marked "Par." are in the custody of the Clergy for Parish use.

BEDFORDS. BIGGLESWADE, 1562–1598, John Powell.

BERKS. BISHAM, 1560–1845, Edgar Powell.
DIDCOT, Bap. 1562–1678, Mar. 1571–1674, Bur. 1568–1681, G. Tudor Sherwood.
UPTON-NEAR-BLEWBURY, &c., 1588–1741, J. F. Fry.

CAMBRIDGES. BABRAHAM, 1561– , Rev. T. D. Gray (in progress).
CAMBRIDGE, All Saints', 1538–1702, C. L. Acland (in progress).

CHESHIRE. BARROW-BY-TARVIN, Bap. 1572–1623, Mar. 1590–1619, Bur. 1572–1622, mixed 1629–1679, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
CHESTER CATHEDRAL, 1687–1871, T. Hughes, F.S.A.
CHESTER, St. John's, Bap. and Mar. 1599–1626, Bur. 1661–1723, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
" St. Oswald's, 1580–1650, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
" St. Peter's, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
NORTHENDEN, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.
OVERCHURCH, *i.e.*, UPTON, 1660–1812, W. F. Irvine.
SWETTENHAM, 1570–1820, Cyril Lockett.
WARBURTON, 1611–1752, Rev. G. Egerton-Warburton, M.A.

CUMBERLAND. BRAMPTON, 1663–1702, Rev. H. Whitehead.
NEWTON REIGNY, 1571–1812, Rev. H. Whitehead.
PENRITH, 1602–1812, Geo. Watson.

DENBIGHS. GRESFORD, T. Cann Hughes, M.A.

DERBYS. REPTON, 1580–1670, Rev. F. C. Hipkins.
SOMERSHALL-HERBERT, 1537–1812, Rev. H. C. Fitzherbert (Indexed, &c.).
STAVELEY, Bap. 1558–1665, Mar. 1587–1666, Bur. 1538–1693, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

DEVON. *ALWINGTON, Mar., Bap. and Bur. 1550–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
ANSTEY, EAST, Mar. 1674, Bap. and Bur. 1596–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
" WEST, 1653–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

* Transcripts of those Parishes thus marked were entered in the first Report as among the Chester MSS. These were copied from the Transcripts here entered.

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ATHERINGTON, Mar. 1548, Bap. 1538, Bur. 1570–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

BERRY NARBOR, Bap. 1550, Mar. and Bur. 1540–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

BIDEFORD, 1561–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*BRADFORD, Mar. 1558–1754, Bap. 1558 and Bur. 1559–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

BRAWNTON, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

CHITTLEHAMPTON, a fragment, Mar. and Bur. 1576–78, Bap. 1575–79, Mar., Bap. Bur. 1637–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

CLYST ST. GEORGE, 1567–1748, Rev. J. L. Gibbs.

DOLTON, Mar. 1610, Bap. and Bur. 1608–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

FREMINGTON, Mar. 1602–1837, Bap. and Bur. 1602–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*HARTLAND, 1558—Mar. 1837, Bap. 1812, Bur. 1866, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

HEANTON PUNCHARDON, Mar. 1559, Bap. 1656, Bur. 1559–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

HIGH BICKINGTON, Mar. 1754–1837, Bap. and Bur. 1707–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*HOLLACOMBE, 1638–1739, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

HUISH, Mar. 1600–1789, Bap. and Bur. 1595–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

HUNTSHAW, Mar. 1755, Bap. and Bur. 1746–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*LITTLEHAM (BIDEFORD), 1538–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

LITTLE TORRINGTON, 1672–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

MARWOOD, 1602—Mar. 1812, Bap. 1784, Bur. 1800, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

MEETH, Mar. 1656, Bap. and Bur. 1653-1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

MERTON, Mar. 1688, Bap. and Bur. 1687–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*NEWTON ST. PETROCK, Mar. and Bap. 157 Bur. 1723–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*PARKHAM, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

PLYMTREE, 1538–1800, Mrs. J. Rose Troup.

PULFORD, WEST, Mar. 1670—Bap. and Bur. 1668–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

ROBOROUGH, 1549–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

ROCKBEARE, 1645—Bap. and Bur. 1676, Mar. 1672, Mrs. J. Rose Troup.

ROSEASH, 1591–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

ST. GILES-IN-THE-WOOD, Mar. and Bap. 1555–1743, Bur. 1556–1746, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

*SHEBBEAR, 1576–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

STOKE RIVERS, 1553—Bap. and Mar. 1744, Bur. 1707, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

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WEST DOWN, –1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
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WINKLEIGH, Mar. 1569–1791, Bap. 1585, Bur. 1569–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
WOOLFARDISWORTHY, 1723–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.
YARNSCOMBE, 1653–1812, Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

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STURMINSTER MARSHALL, 1562–1694, Rev. J. Cross.
TARRANT HINTON, 1545–1812, Rev. A. S. Newman.
THORNFORD, 1677–1812, E. A. Fry.
WHITECHURCH CANONICORUM, Bap. 1558–1680, index form, Rev. R. G. Bartlett.

DURHAM.

DENTON, 1714–1812 (*continuation*), Rev. J. Edleston.
DIMSDALE, Bap. 1556–1806, Mar. 1564–1754, Bur. 1562–1812, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
EBCHESTER, Bap. and Bur. 1619–1731, Mar. 1621–1731, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.
WHITBURN, Mar. 1579– , Robt. Blair, F.S.A. (in progress).
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WILTON-LE-WEAR, 1558–1745, Robt. Blair, F.S.A.

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CHIGNALL, S. James', 1724–1812 (earlier lost), Rev. O. W. Tancock.
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LAMBORNE, 1582–1812, R. H. Browne (*see* also 1st Report)
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„ LITTLE, 1679–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
MALDON, All Saints', 1558–1812, R. H. Browne, Plume Library, Maldon.
„ St. Mary, 1558–1812, R. H. Browne, Plume Library.
„ St. Peter's, 1556–1812, R. H. Browne, Plume Library.
MASHBURY, 1539–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
NAVESTOCK, 1538–1812, Par.
PLESHEY, 1656–1812, Rev. O. W. Tancock.
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TOTTERNHOE, 1558–1670, Rev. S. A. Woolward (Indexed).
WALTHAM PARVA, 1538–1812, R. H. Browne, Par. and Guildhall Library.
WEST HAM, Mar. 1653–1801, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
WHITE COLNE, 1538–1812, R. H. Browne, Par. and Guildhall Library.
WIDFORD, 1619–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.
WOODHAM WALTER, 1558–1800, R. H. Browne, Par.
WRITTLE, 1634–1812, R. H. Browne, Par.

GLO'STERS.

ASTON-SUB-EDGE, 1538–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
" Mar. only 1539–1719, S. G. Hamilton. To be printed in Gloucester Marriage Registers.
BISHOPS CLEEVE, Mar. 1563–1812, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
CAM, Mar. 1569–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R. (in progress).
CAMPDEN, Mar. 1616–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
CHARLTON KINGS, Mar. 1538–1812, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
CHEDWORTH, Mar. 1653–1817, Rev. S. Hope, for G. M. R.
CHELTENHAM, 1558–1812, Sidney Madge, for G. M. R.
CLIFFORD CHAMBERS, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, M.A.
COALEY, Mar. 1625–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. W. Symons, for G. M. R.
DORSINGTON, 1593–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
DURSLEY, Mar. 1639–1676, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R.
EBRINGTON, 1567–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
HAWKESBURY, Mar. 1603–1728, W. P. W. Phillimore, and Rev. E. R. Mosley, for G. M. R.
KEMERTON, Mar. 1575–1716, and in progress, Rev. J. J. Mercier, for G. M. R.
LEMINGTON, 1685–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
LEONARD STANLEY, Mar. 1570–1806, T. W. Cattell and R. Denison Jones, for G. M. R.
LIDMINGTON, 1691–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
MARSTON SICCA, Mar. only 1680–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
MATSON, Bap. 1553–1812, Mar. 1563–1879, Bur. 1555–1812, Rev. W. Bazeley.
MICKLETON, 1594–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
" Mar. 1594–1812, S. G. Hamilton, for G. M. R.
MORETON-IN-THE-MARSH, Mar. , Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
NETHER SWELL, Mar. 1686–1812, Rev. D. Royce, for G. M. R.

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PEBWORTH, 1597–1784, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
PRESTON-ON-STOUR, 1540–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
QUINTON, 1537–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
SAINSBURY, Bap. 1563–1569, Mar. 1585–1590, Bur. 1786–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
STINCHCOMBE, Mar. 1583–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. P. Lynch Blosse, for G. M. R.
STONE, Mar. 1594–1812, Rev. C. Cripps, for G. M. R.
STONEHOUSE, Mar. 1558–1812, R. Denison Jones, for G. M. R.
SWINDON, Bap. 1606—Mar. 1638–1838, Bur. 1638–1700, Sidney Madge, F.R.H.S.
TODENHAM, 1721–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
ULEY, Mar. only 1668–1812, W. P. W. Phillimore, for G. M. R.
UPPER SLAUGHTER, 1538–1812, J. E. K. Cutts.
WELFORD-ON-AVON, Bap. and Bur. 1561–1768, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
WESTON-ON-AVON, 1685–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
WESTON-SUB-EDGE, 1626–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
WILLERSEY, 1721–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

HANTS.

FACCOMBE, Mar. 1546–1754, W. P. W. Phillimore and Rev. F. H. Harding, for Hants. Mar Reg.
HEADLEY, 1537–1895, Rev. W. H. Laverty.
HURSTBOURNE TARRANT, Mar. 1546–1754, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.
KNIGHT'S ENHAM, Mar. 1683–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.
LINKENHOLT, Mar. 1585–1738, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.
MONKSTON, Mar. 1716–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.
PENTON MEWSEY, Mar. 1642–1812, Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for H. M. R.
VERNHAM, Mar. 1607–1754, W. P. W. Phillimore, for H. M. R.

HEREFORDS.

STOKE BLISS, 1571–1717, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.
THORNBURY, 1538–1735, Mrs. Baldwyn Childe.

HERTS.

ALDENHAM, 1559–1659, Rev. K. F. Gibbs (in progress).
FLAMSTEAD, 1548—Bap. 1726, Mar. 1736, Bur. 1724, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
HERTFORD, St. Andrew, 1566–1653, Par.
HERTINGFORDBURY, 1679–1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.
PELHAM BRENT, 1539–1773, Par.
REDBOURN, 1617–1701, J. E. K. Cutts.

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NEWENDON, 1559–1850, Rev. E. Jermyn (Indexed).

RESTON, Bap. 1541–1684, Mar. 1540–1683, Bur. 1542–1685, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

WICKHAMBREUX, Bap. 1563–1612, Mar. 1558–1652, Bur. 1558–1661, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

WINGHAM, Bap. 1568—Bur. 1569–1778, Mar. 1569–1770, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

LANCS. BURNLEY, 1562–1722, W. Ecroyd.

HAWKSHEAD, 1568–1704, H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A.

LINCOLNS. DODDINGTON, 1690–1812, Rev. R. E. G. Cole.

EPWORTH, Bap. 1538–1602, Mar. 1564—Bur. 1538–1593, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

SCRIVELSBY, 1565–1812, Rev. Canon Lodge, Par.

LONDON. BERMONDSEY, St. Mary Magdalen, 1609–1643, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

HOLY TRINITY, Minories, Bap. 1563–1813, Mar. 1579–1664, Bur. 1566–1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

MIDDLESEX. WILLESDEN, 1568–1865, Fred. A. Wood (Indexed).

NORFOLK. BAWSEY, 1537–1773, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

BLO' NORTON, 1562—Bap. 1713, Mar. 1712, Bur. 1714, Rev. Aug. G. Legge, Par.

GUIST, Bap. 1557–1707, Mar. 1560–1706, Bur. 1558–1723, Rev. Aug. G. Legge, Par.

NEWTON-BY-CASTLE ACRE, 1558–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

WEST ACRE, 1665–1748, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

NORTHANTS. ALDWINKLE, All Saints', 1653–1726, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

ALDWINKLE, St. Peter's, Bap. 1563–1689 and 1701–1711. Mar. 1654–1711, Bur. 1653–1679, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

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SOMERSET. BATH, Abbey Church, 1569—Bap. and Mar. 1754, Bur. 1800, Harl. Soc.
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PAKEFIELD, 1682–1812, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
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WEYBRIDGE, 1625—Bap. 1797, Mar. 1812, Bur. 1820 (names only from 1797), Miss E. Lloyd.
WOODMANSTERNE, 1568–1710 (to 1750 in progress), F. H. Lambert, F.S.A.

SUSSEX.

GRINSTEAD, EAST, 1558–1760, R. Payne Crawford.
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SOUTHAM, Bap. 1633—Mar. 1657, Bur. 1647–1812, W. Gardner. (*See* also List 2.)
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WILTS. AMESBURY, Rev. C. Ruddle.
BAVERSTOCKE, Bap. 1557—Mar. and Bur. 1561–1715, Chas. Penruddocke.
CHITTERNE, All Saints', Bishops' Transcripts to 1672 by Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Par. (originals lost).
COMPTON CHAMBERLAYNE, 1747–1812, Chas. Penruddocke.
DINTON, 1558–1812, Chas. Penruddocke.
GREAT BEDWYN, Bap. 1553—Mar. 1539, Bur. 1538–1717, Rev. J. Ward, Par.
MADDINGTON, 1611–1812, Canon Bennett and Rev. G. Bartlett, Par.
MILSTON-CUM-BRIGMERSTON, 1540–1700, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index copy and Par.
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PRESHUTE, 1607–1707, E. Ll. Gwillim.
ROLLESTONE, 1652–1812, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index copy.
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" 1548–1700, Rev. R. G. Bartlett, Index form, Par.

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CLENT, 1562–1812, J. Amphlett (wrongly inserted in first Report under Staffordshire).
EVESHAM, All Saints', Bap. and Mar. 1539–1784, Bur. 1538–1546 (in progress), Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
" St. Laurence, Bur. 1556 (in progress), Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.
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TREDINGTON, Mar. 1560–1615, Rev. J. Harvey Bloom (in progress).

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" St. John-in-Bedwardine, Mrs. W. R. Carr.

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BURGHWALLIS, 1596–1693 (with gaps), A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

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HOOTON ROBERTS, Bap. and Mar. 1702–1803, Bur. 1703–1813, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

HOVINGHAM, 1642–1742, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

KIRK ELLA, 1588–1812, A. B. Wilson Barkworth.

LINTON-IN-CRAVEN, 1562–1896, Rev. F. A. C. Share, M.A., Par.

OLD MALTON, Bap. and Mar. 1606—Bur. 1609–1765, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

SADDLEWORTH, St. Chad's, 1571–1800, John Radcliffe. (From 1613–1751 are printed.)

SLINGSBY, 1687–1737, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

TANKERSLEY, Bap. 1593–1742, Mar. 1599–1754, Bur. 1598–1755, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

THORNE, 1565–1698, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

WHITKIRK, 1603–1700, J. W. Morkill, M.A., Par. (*See* also List 2.)

WINTRINGHAM, 1558–1700, A. S. Scott-Gatty, F.S.A.

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No. 4.—Registers of Other Churches.

Printed Registers.

LONDON. FRENCH CHURCH, Threadneedle Street, 1600–1639, Huguenot Soc. Lymington, 1896, 4to

WESTMORELAND. RAVENSTONEDALE, Presbyterian, 1775–1809, Congregational, 1811–1837, Soc. of Friends, 1655-1834, Rev. R. W. Metcalf 1894, fol.

MS. Transcript.

KENT. ROCHESTER, (Presbyterian) 1706–1806 (some entries from 1700), Humphrey Wood, F.S.A. (original deposited with Registrar-General).

No. 5.—Sundry Records (printed).

CAMBRIDGE. ELY, Mar. Licences, allegations for, 1582–1591, A. Gibbons, F.S.A.

HANTS. Mar. Licences by Bp. of Winchester, allegations for, W. T. C. Moens, F.S.A. Harl. Soc., vols. xxxv. and xxxvi.

HERTS. HUNTINGDON Archdeaconry, Mar. Licences, Abstracts, W. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist.

ST. ALBAN'S Archdeaconry, Mar. Licences, Abstracts, W. Brigg, B.A., Herts. Genealogist.

KENT. CANTERBURY, Mar. Licences, 1568–1618 (First Series), J. M. Cowper. 1892 pr.

" Mar. Licences, 1619–1660 (Second Series), J. M. Cowper.

" Mar. Licences, Vicar-Gen. of Archp., 1660–1679. Extracts by Col. Chester. Harl. Soc., vol. xxiii. and complement to do., vols. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

" Mar. Licences, Vicar-Gen., &c., 1679–1687 and 1687–1694, Harl. Soc., vols. xxx. and xxxi.

" Mar. Licences, Faculty Office of Archbp., 1543–1869, Harl. Soc., vol. xxiv.

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WESTMINSTER, Mar. Licences by Dean and Chapter, 1558–1699, Col. Chester, Harl. Soc., vol. xxiii.

YORKS. YORK, Mar. Licences by Dean and Chapter, A. Gibbons F.S.A. (in progress).

SOMERSET. COMMONWEALTH Mar., 1653–1656, Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries II. 73, 104.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. Index to Mar., 1731–1868, H. Farrar, Swan Sonnenschein (in press). dmy. 8vo

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The Council regret that, volume I, part 2, has been delayed. It will very shortly be issued, and followed by part 3. Meanwhile it is thought desirable to issue the continuation of the *London Inquisitiones Post Mortem* and other additional matter in a separate form as an appendix.

May, 1896.

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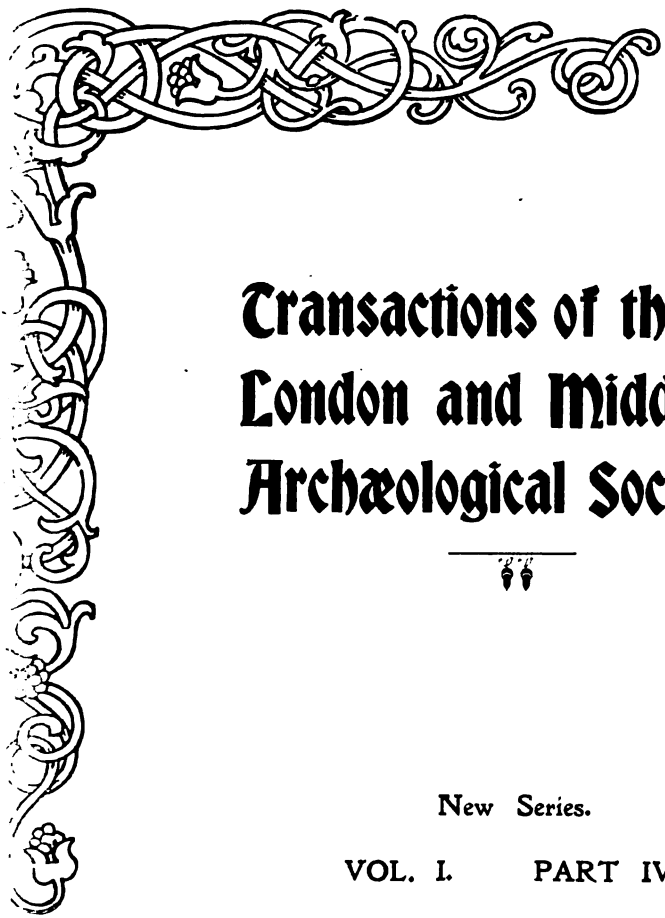

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